ASIA
A SHORT HISTORY

HERBERT · H · GOWEN

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Asia; a short history from the earliest times to the present day

ASIA

A SHORT HISTORY

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Messer Marco Polo, with Messer Nicolo and Messer Maffeo, Returned from Twenty-six Years' Sojourn in the Orient, Is Denied Entrance to the Ca' Polo

ASIA

A SHORT HISTORY
FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES
TO THE PRESENT DAY

BY

HERBERT H. GOWEN, D.D., F. R. As. Soc.
Author of "An Outline History of China"

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BOSTON
LITTLE, BROWN, AND COMPANY
1926

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Published June, 1926

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY PRESS PUBLICATIONS
ARE PUBLISHED BY
LITTLE, BROWN, AND COMPANY
IN ASSOCIATION WITH
THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY COMPANY

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

To

MY WIFE

FOREWORD

In Shelley's "Prometheus Unbound" Asia is one of the Oceanides who minister to the great sufferer on the rocks of Caucasus. If we regard Prometheus as the symbol of civilization in the service of humanity, there is much propriety in thinking of the continent of Asia as an important figure in that immortal cause.

We do not know how the name "Asia" originated. The old Greek geographers reckoned only two continents, Europe and Asia. They included Africa — or Libya, as they called it — in the latter. But apart from this unnecessary addition, Asia contains one third of the land area of the globe and considerably over one half its population. It stands to reason, therefore, that we have here practically half a world, which should be interesting to the other half. Other reasons for this conviction will appear in the course of the following pages.

No apology need be made for the slight treatment which many important episodes of the history receive. There is in China a type of poem known as the "stop short." It is so called because designed to stop short of any full description, from the poet's desire to stimulate the imagination of the reader. In the case of the following narrative it is hoped that the stimulus will be sufficient to prompt further research, in volumes where the separate trees are of more concern than the entire plan of the forest.

One other word of explanation is perhaps due. It is obvious that this history is written frankly from the Western point of view, and that therefore there is considerable reference to those incidents of European and American history which connect themselves with Asiatic affairs. To attempt a history of

Asia from the Asiatic point of view would be to miss those interests which for the present furnish the bond between East and West. Here too it will be possible to draw upon separate volumes written from another angle. The aim of the present writer has been, from such points of departure as are reasonably familiar to the American student, to offer a story of the "great sister" (as Shelley calls his heroine) whose civilization is at once the source and complement of our own — a story as connected as is possible within the limits of our space.

H. H. G.

CONTENTS

I. INTRODUCTORY 3

"Between Adam and the Mayflower" — Obligations of nationalism — Europo-centric views of history and philosophy — Unity of history — Era of comparative science only begun — Interrupted intercourse — Trend of American history — Discovering the Pacific — Our relations with Asia — Asia a cradle of the human race, of culture, of world religions — Asia great in personalities — Opportunities of the Pacific era — Civilization the common product of East and West.

II. HOW THE CHANNELS OF ASIATIC HISTORY WERE MADE 15

What forces determine history — Geography — General view of Asia — The inert North — The central springs — The "pockets" of the South — Influence of climatic changes on population — China as a cultural pocket — Pre-Aryan races of India — Malay Peninsula — Original Sumerian colonies — Semitic origins — Sargon of Agade and his successors — Hammurabi and the Code — Kassites and Hittites — The "throned tigers" of Assyria — Fall of Nineveh — Neo-Babylonian kingdom and Nebuchadnezzar — Story of the Hebrews — Aryan movement, Indo-Aryan and Iranian — Vedic age — The Persian Zoroaster — Ahuramazda vs. Angramainyu — Cyrus the Great — Darkness over the Farthest East — The Ainus — Summary of history to the sixth century B.C.

III. FROM CYRUS TO THE CHRISTIAN ERA . . 34

Seven centuries of movement — Colonizing of Japan — Achæmenian Empire — Cyrus and his successors — Judaism under the Persians — Indian philosophy — The orthodox schools — The heretics — Jainism and Buddhism — Story of Gautama — Invasion of India by Alexander — The Seleucids — Chandragupta — Açoka — Hinayana and Mahayana — Indo-Bactrian, Indo-Parthian, and

Indo-Scythian dynasties — Kanishka — Chinese administration — Confucius — Mencius — Lao Tzŭ and Taoism — Chin dynasty — Great First Emperor — Han period — Revival of learning — Expansion of the Empire — Introduction of Buddhism — Rome and China — Interrelations of commerce, of culture, the drama, pictorial art, of religion — Birth of Christianity — Extension of Buddhism — Efforts toward universal religion.

IV. Asia to the Rise of Islam 55

Legendary Japan — Buddhism in Japan — First Japanese codes — Anarchy in China — The Three Kingdoms — The vanity of Yang Ti — Glories of the T'ang dynasty — Foreign religions — The Nestorian Stone — Great Chinese poets — Gupta dynasty of India — Court of Vikramaditya — Buddhist pilgrims — Harsha, last lord-paramount of native India — Parthian rule in Persia — Ardashir founds the Sassanid line — The Shahpurs and the Khosrus — Persian heresies — Persia wars with Rome — Arabian paganism — Muhammad — The four orthodox Khalifs — The tragedy of Ali — Hassan and Husayn — The Passion Play of the month Muharram — The Ummayad Khalifate — Unity of the period, literary and religious.

V. Asia in the Grip of the Tatars 72

Bagdad Khalifate — Mahmud the Image-breaker — The Persian Homer — The Seljuks — Umar al-Khayyami — The Assassins — The Kings of Khiva — Sung dynasty in China — Ten years of state socialism — Iron, Gold Tatars — China divided — Weakening of imperial power in Japan — Learned, cloistered, and child emperors — "Wars of the Roses" — Kiyomori — Minamoto revolt — Yoritomo and Yoshitsune — The Shogunate — Kamakura — Shogun and Shikken — Jenghiz Khan — Ogdai — The sack of Bagdad — Kublai Khan — The Great Armada — The Friars Minor — Carpini and De Rubruk — Prester John — Marco Polo — Porcelain and printing — Buddhist revival in Japan.

VI. Between the New and the Old 91

Transition to modern history — Ming revolution in China — The Beggar King — Arrival of the Portuguese — The Manchus — Nurhachu — Rebellion of Li — Burning of Kamakura — Ashikaga Shogunate — Portuguese in Japan — Nobunaga — The three-days' Shogun — Hideyoshi — War with Korea — First ironclads — Death of the Taiko

Sama — Iyeyasu — The Ottoman Turk — Dream of Osman — Capture of Adrianople — Timur the Lame — Defeat of Bayazid — The Timurids — Sufi dynasty of Persia — Shah Abbas — The Moghul Empire in India — Babar to Akbar.

VII. Opening the Sea Routes to Asia . . . 105

Closing of the land routes — Prince Henry the Navigator — Diaz discovers the Cape — Da Gama reaches India — Camoens and *The Lusiads* — First Portuguese settlement in India — Albuquerque — Portuguese reach Malacca, China, and Japan — Mendez Pinto — Saint Francis Xavier — Christianity in Japan — Decline of Portuguese domination — Expulsion from Japan — Remnants of Portuguese sovereignty in the East.

VIII. Spain in the Far East 118

Treaty of Tordesillas — Magellan — Discovery of the Ladrones and the Philippines — Death of Magellan — Legaspi and the Philippines — Aborigines, wild men, and Malays — Christianization of the islands — Manila made the capital — Salcedo — The Marianas and the Carolines — Invasion of Li-ma-hong — Quarrels between soldiers and friars — Relations with Japan — Crucifixion of the Twenty-three — Hostility between Dutch and Spanish — Koxinga — Chinese massacres — Capture of Manila by the British — Native disaffection.

IX. Portugal's Successors in the East . . 127

Holland in the East — *Itinerario* of Linschoten — Dutch East India Company — Dutch relations with Christianity in Japan — Trade in the East Indies — Koxinga expels the Dutch from Formosa — Embassy to Peking — The Amboyna affair — London East India Company — Waymouth's expedition to Cathay — Will Adams — Sir John Saris and the Clove — Charter at Surat — First joint-stock voyage to India — Acquisition of Madras — Elihu Yale — Job Charnock — How England obtained Bombay — Colbert and French influence — Rebellion of Sivaji — Death of Aurungzeb.

X. The Russian Adventure in Asia . . . 142

Geography of Northern Asia — Palæasiatic, Tungus, and Samoyed tribes — Central Asian tribes — Early intercourse of Russia with Asia — Mongol invasions — Russian penetration of Asia — Yermak — Khabaroff — Founding

of Albazin — Treaty of Nerchinsk — Russia on the Amur — Eleuth wars — Treaty of Kiakhta — Amursana — "Flight of a Tatar Tribe."

XI. Asia in the Eighteenth Century . . 153

Manchu invasion — Wu San-kwei — Great Pure dynasty — "Song of the Cakes" — Opposition in the South — Jesuits in China — Shun Chih — K'ang Hsi, ruler and reformer — Yung Chêng and the secret societies — Ch'ien Lung — Correspondence with Voltaire — Macartney mission — Tibet — China and the Grand Lama — The Gurkhas — Tokugawa Iyeyasu — The Tokugawa Shoguns — The Dog Shogun — The Forty-seven Ronins — The Shakespeare of Japan — Yoshimune — Japanese renaissance — Dutch learning — The Great Moghuls in India — Akbar — Jehangir — Shah Jehan — Aurungzeb — Mahratta war — Decline of the Great Moghuls — English and French in India — "Black Hole" of Calcutta — Plassey — Clive and Hastings — Persia after the death of Abbas — Nadir Shah — Afghanistan — Turkish rule in the eighteenth century — Arabia explored by Niebuhr — Cambodia and the Khmers — Siam — A Cephalonian adventurer — Burmah and the "Golden Chersonese."

XII. The Dawn of the Pacific Era . . . 173

Balboa, Magellan — Their successors — Captain James Cook — Malaysia and the Philippines — Australia and Tasmania — New Zealand — Melanesia — Micronesia — Polynesia — Hawaii in the eighteenth century — "Napoleon of the Pacific" — Introduction of Christianity — First American trade with the Far East — The Empress of China — First American Consul in China — The Hongs — Smuggling and the opium trade — Discovery of the Northwest — John Ledyard — Astoria — Oregon and the Pacific trade — Terranova case — Efforts to open Japan — The Morrison — Mission of Commodore Biddle.

XIII. Decline of the Manchu Dynasty . . 187

Attempted assassination of the Emperor — "Foam of the sea" — "Tom Tiddler's ground" in China — Amherst mission — The Emperor to King George III — Taokwang — Troubles in Canton — Lord Napier — Elliot — "War over a pin" — Treaty of Nanking — First American Minister — Tai-ping Rebellion —

"the Ever-victorious Army" — Arrow incident — War with Great Britain and France — Treaty of Peking — "Most-favored-nation" clause — Anson Burlingame — Treaty of 1868 — Chinese immigration — Exclusion legislation — Great Empress-Dowager — Her three regencies — Maritime Customs — Sir Robert Hart — Trouble with France — British in Burmah — Margary affair — Christian persecution in Korea — War with Japan — Treaty of Shimonoseki — Retrocession of Liao-tung peninsula — European aggressions in China — Reforms of July — Empress-Dowager resumes power — Boxer revolt — Deaths of the Emperor and Empress-Dowager — Accession of Hsuan-Tung.

XIV. Russian Advances in Asia 206

Treaty of Kiakhta — The exile system — Chinese migration to Central Asia — Cossacks of the Urals — First expedition to Khiva — Submission of the Caspian tribes — Crimean war — Muravieff — Treaty of Aigun — Treaty of Peking — Khanates of Central Asia — Conquest of Bokhara — Kaufmann's campaigns against Khiva — Civil war in Khokand — Muhammadan rebellions in China — Yakoob Khan — Province of Ferghana — "Agricultural army" — Treaty of Livadia — Conquest of the Tekke Turkomans — Merv oasis — Afghan frontier — Delimitation of three empires — Trans-Siberian Railway — Russo-Japanese war — Causes — Russia in Manchuria — Capture of Port Arthur — Battle of Mukden — Battle of the Sea of Japan — Roosevelt as peacemaker — Treaty of Portsmouth — Japanese gains and disappointments — Russia and Mongolia.

XV. Japan to the Treaty of Portsmouth . 221

Tokugawa Shogunate — American commerce and Japan — Japanese martyrs — Takano Nagahide — Coming of Perry — Shogun's dilemma — Treaty of Kanagawa — Townsend Harris — Treaty of 1858 — Yoshida Shoin — Bombardment of Kagoshima and Shimonoseki — Sir Harry Parkes — Last of the Shoguns — Meiji — Charter Oath — National Assembly — Yedo made capital — Abolition of feudal system — Satsuma Rebellion — Constitutional movement — First political parties — Ito and the Constitution — The Diet — Treaty revision — Causes and results of war

with China — Anglo-Japanese alliance — Conflict with Russia — Treaty of Portsmouth — Annexation of Korea — Decline of American sympathy — Rapprochement with Russia.

XVI. India to the Great War 242

Rivalry of French and English — Growth of the East India Company — New legislation for India — *Pax Indica* — Reforms in the Company's administration — Education — Viceroyalty of Lord William Bentinck — Ram Mohun Roy — The Brahmo Samaj — Afghanistan — Sind — Lord Canning as Viceroy — Indian Mutiny — Relief of Lucknow — Paternalism — Growth of population — Act for the Better Government of India — Discontent — Ilbert Bill — Indian National Congress — Lord Curzon as Viceroy — Partition of Bengal — Demand for Swaraj — Swadeshi movement — Assassination of Sir William Curzon-Wylie — Efforts at repression — Indian Councils Act — Lord Minto's Viceroyalty — Lord Hardinge — Indentured labor in South Africa — Reunion of Bengal — New Capital — Lord Hardinge's reforms — Indian Relief Act of 1914 — Attempt on the Viceroy's life — All-India Moslem League — Mahatma Gandhi — Indian loyalty in the Great War — Retirement of Lord Hardinge.

XVII. Political Stirrings in Eastern Asia in the Twentieth Century . . . 256

Japanese misunderstanding with the United States — Japanese immigration — History of the exclusion movement — "Gentleman's agreement" — California legislation — Death of Meiji Tenno — Suicide of General Nogi — Era of "Great Righteousness" — Japan and the Great War — Taking of Tsingtao — Twenty-one Demands — Lansing-Ishii Agreement — Chinese Revolution — Sun Yat-sen — Emperor Hsuan Tung — Li Yuan-hung — Yuan Shih-k'ai Premier — Provisional Government at Nanking — Abdication of the Manchus — First President of the Republic — Intrigue in Mongolia — The Six-Power Loan — Revolution of 1913 — Kuo-min-tang — Yuan as Dictator — China and the Great War — Shame Day — Attempt to revive monarchy — Death of Yuan — President Li — Break with Germany — Attempt

to restore Manchus — Li resigns — Fêng Kuo-chang President — China enters the war — Election of 1918.

XVIII. Political Stirrings in Western Asia in the Twentieth Century . . . 274

Russo-British Convention respecting Persia — New Persian Constitution — Revolution of 1909 — Morgan Shuster — His dismissal — Bagdad Railway — German interest in the Persian Gulf — Persia and the Great War — Russian and Turkish intrusions — Massacre of Christians — Efforts to embroil Persia and Afghanistan — South Persia Rifles — Taking of Bagdad — Armenia under Khalifs, Seljuks, and Mongols — Under Ottoman Turks — Treaties with Russia — Massacres of 1895–96 — Turkish Revolution — Under Young Turks — Massacres during Great War — Transcaspian States declare independence — Turkish nationalism — Turkey and Arabia — Revolt of the Sherif of Mecca — Wahabis — Husein, King of Hedjaz — Allenby in Palestine — Syria and the French mandate — British mandate in Palestine — Zionism — Iraq.

XIX. Asia and the World War 288

Japan, China in the war — Advantages to China and to the Allies — Russia and Japan — Russo-Chinese-Mongolian agreement — Russian collapse — March of the Czechoslovaks — Interallied Siberian expedition — Admiral Koltchak — Ataman Semenoff — Death of Koltchak — Asiatic questions at the Peace Table — Representatives of Asia — German colonies in the Pacific — "All-White-Australia" policy — Shantung question — Racial equality — President Wilson decides for Japan.

XX. The Aftermath of the Great War in Asia 301

Self-determination — Revolutionary movements in Western Asia — Soviet intrigue — New Turkish government — Khalifat Committee in India — Far Eastern Republic — Ungern-Sternberg — Soviet Republic in Mongolia — Russia and China — Leo Karakhan — Yurin — Joffe — Playing off China and Japan — Korean nationalism — Japanese improvements in Korea — "Passive Revolution" — Mission-

aries and the independence movement — Opinion in the United States — New Consortium — Shantung question — Chinese irredentism — Infringements of sovereignty — Washington Conference — Naval Disarmament Pact — Four-Power Pact — Pacific questions — Shantung dispute settled — Siberia and the Far Eastern Republic — Yap — General satisfaction.

XXI. European Interests in Asia To-day . . 320

Decline of imperialistic policies — Future of Germany in the Far East — Russian recovery in the Orient — Russo-Chinese Treaty of 1924 — Russian Treaty with Japan — Goa and Macao — Dutch East Indies — Population of Insulinde — Administrative system — Trade and industry — Future of Holland in the East — France in Asia — Pondicherry — In China, Indo-China — French colonial administration — French possessions in the Pacific — Syrian mandate — Druses — Britain in China — In Tibet — In India — Ceylon under Crown — Malay States — Straits Settlements — Singapore — Borneo and Sarawak — Rajah Brooke — Problems of Australasia — Mandates of Great Britain in Western Asia — Iraq — Palestine and Zionism.

XXII. The United States and Asia . . . 340

Acquisition of the Philippines — Chinese immigration — Financial interest in China — The Open Door — The Philippines since 1898 — Independence movement — Is our work done in the Philippines? — Are the Philippines safe from outside menace? — Guam and Yap — Immigration policy — Discrimination against Asiatics — Anti-Japanese legislation in California — Current misunderstandings — Commercial opportunities in the Orient — Need of world consciousness.

XXIII. Changing Alignments in Asia . . . 353

Immigration Act of 1924 — Asiatics ineligible to citizenship — Repercussions in Asia — Pan-Asianism — China, Russia, and Japan — Significance of Tuan Chi-jui — General Fêng and Sun Yat-sen — Death of Dr. Sun — Mass Education movement — Agitation against extraterritoriality — Strike in the cotton mills — Shanghai affair — Anti-foreign and anti-Christian agitation — Russo-Japanese treaty — Japan and China — Reza Khan — Rama VI.

XXIV. The Domestic Problems of China and Japan 366

Responsibility of foreigners in China — Difficulties of Chinese reform — Economic — Political — Military — Sordid conditions — Need of financial rehabilitation — Of national education — Problems of industrialization and urbanization in Japan — Factory Law of 1916 — Conditions in the mines — In rural areas — Labor movement — Growth of Socialism — Unemployment — Wages — Welfare work — Imperial charities — Administrative agencies — Private and religious agencies — Earthquake and fire of September 1923 — Relief — Reconstruction — Political effects — Yamamoto Cabinet — Kiyoura Cabinet — American Immigration Bill — Kato Cabinet — Manhood Suffrage Bill.

XXV. The West in the East — Political and Commercial Relations 379

No permanent gulf possible between East and West — Four stages of relation — Methods of conquest — Interests of the governed — Mandate principle — Present illustrations of the stages — France and Syria — Great Britain and India — Philippine situation — Commerce from exploitation to coöperation — Increase of business morality — Commercial unity of East and West — Foreign capital in China — Opium Conferences at Geneva.

XXVI. The West in the East — Educational and Religious Relations 390

Four types of missionary work — Education in India — In China — Modern educational movements — Tsing Hua College — Missionary schools and universities — Education in Japan — First medical missions in India — In China — In Japan — The Rockefeller Foundation — Industrial aspect of missions — Evangelism — Missionary history in India — Jesuit missions in China — Robert Morrison — Development of Chinese missions — Beginning of missionary work in Japan — Christianity after the Restoration — Influence of Japanese Christianity — Criticism of missions — What missions are doing in Asia.

XXVII. Conclusion 400

Main trends of Asiatic history — Frontiersmen of Asia and of the West — Future of China and of Japan — Of Asiatic culture — Influence of Asia on the West — Influence of the West upon Asia — Future of Asiatics in the United States — Future of the Pacific — Growth of nations around the Pacific rim — Relations hitherto inspired by fear — Need for understanding — Nationalism and internationalism — Utopia and the map — American idealism.

ILLUSTRATIONS

MESSER MARCO POLO, WITH MESSER NICOLO AND MESSER MAFFEO, RETURNED FROM TWENTY-SIX YEARS' SOJOURN IN THE ORIENT, IS DENIED ENTRANCE TO THE CA' POLO . . . *Frontispiece*

CONFUCIUS 46

MENCIUS 46

THE GREAT FIRST EMPEROR ON HIS WAY TO CONSULT THE TAOISTS 48

GROWTH OF CHINESE EMPIRE (MAP) 50

T'ANG, THE COMPLETER, OFFERS HIMSELF A SACRIFICE FOR THE CHINESE EMPIRE 60

THE MECCA CERTIFICATE 68
Portion showing the Kaaba

THE MONGOL EMPIRE IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY (MAP) 84

THE GREAT MOGHUL, BABAR, ON HIS WAY TO BATTLE 100

CRUCIFIXION OF THE TWENTY-THREE PROTOMARTYRS OF JAPAN, 1597 124

ASIA IN THE MID-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY (MAP) . . 154

AZAM SHAH, THIRD SON OF AURUNGZEB . . . 162

INDIA IN 1765 (MAP) 166

THE ISLES OF THE PACIFIC (MAP) 174

CHINA AND JAPAN (MAP) 198

Tzu-hsi, "The Only Man in China". 202
From a photograph in the office of the Chief of the Division of Far Eastern Affairs at the State Department, Washington

Ito, Maker and Interpreter of the Japanese Constitution 234
Photograph by the Keystone View Company of New York

Gandhi, Apostle of Non-Coöperation 254
Photograph by the Keystone View Company of New York

Sun Yat-sen, First Provisional President of the Chinese Republic 356
Photograph by the Keystone View Company of New York

General Map of Asia 436

ASIA

A SHORT HISTORY

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

We are just beginning to realize in America, says Mr. H. G. Wells,[1] "that quite a lot of things happened between Adam and the Mayflower that we ought to be told about. . . . The United States has been like one of those men we read about in the papers, who go away from home and turn up in some distant place with their memories gone. They've forgotten what their names were, or where they lived, or what they did for a living. They've forgotten everything that matters."

If such an indictment be true, the forgetfulness has been up to the present neither unnatural nor unuseful. For every nation whose national quality is destined to prove of lasting value to civilization, it is necessary that there be two periods of experience. First, there must be the period of relative segregation. This is the time for the national quality to be developed by the welding together of its constituent parts. At this stage, nationalism, as in the case of the Jews, may exhibit the fiercest kind of tenacity. It may be jealous with the kind of national jealousy we call chauvinism. It may be so conscious of the worth of what it has to guard that it regards any dilution of national spirit by foreign contacts as a contamination of the wellsprings of life. But to such a people — again, as in the case of the Jews — there comes a second period when, under penalty of stagnating, it becomes essential to put forth the achievements of national character to service on behalf of all mankind. After this the centrifugal conception of political life

[1] *The Secret Places of the Heart*, p. 155.

must work in harmony with the centripetal, lest what has been gained by the earlier struggles of nationalism be wasted and lost through selfish isolation.

We are come, the writer believes, to one of those crises of American history in which new occasions make it necessary for us to prepare for the carrying out of new duties.

Somewhere on that long imaginary line which separates what is known as European Russia from the country to the east there stands a stone which on one face bears the word EUROPE and on the other face the word ASIA. In most respects the distinction to which the stone directs attention is illusory. But illusions of this sort have had a very powerful influence on the course of history. The minds of historians have been wont to imprison both themselves and their subjects within national and continental boundaries that are quite artificial. We are far as yet from escaping from the bondage of these nationalistic — not to mention Europo-centric — views of history. A recent writer, complaining of this, declares that relatively the scope of our historical inquiry is less than that of Herodotus. The history of Greece has been studied as the story of a people who had nothing in common with the outside world except when foreign campaigns against barbarians had to be undertaken and invasions repelled. The history of Rome was, of course, more far-flung in its range, yet even here only because the arms of Rome had to be followed east and west in their triumph over inferior peoples. Renan represents not only the attitude of his own, but that of a generation still later when he affirms that only three national histories have been of any particular consequence to the modern world, namely, those of Judæa, Greece, and Rome.

It would be hard to overstate the degree to which this one error in the field of history has extended to other departments of study. The philosopher, for example, has concluded that, since his history begins with Greece, there too must begin the story of his own science. Textbook after textbook, each purporting to be a history of ancient philosophy, has been produced

without so much as a hint that philosophy ever had a domicile beyond the Greek colonies of Asia Minor. Thus men in general come to the conclusion that history had two faces, one toward the west, the other toward the east. The westward face was full of meaning, movement, life. The eastward face was nebulous and dreamy, out of all relation to the world in which we live. Some have gone so far as to preach a doctrine of biological distinction in addition to that of geographical and historical remoteness. They love to quote with glib inaccuracy one hackneyed couplet of Kipling, but have no memory of the succeeding and complementary lines: —

> But there is neither East nor West, Border, nor Breed, nor Birth,
> When two strong men stand face to face, though they come from the ends of the earth.

For this failure to perceive the unity of history in general, and in particular the importance of assigning place to the story of Asia, there are certain easily discoverable causes.

We must remember that the era of comparative science has but very recently begun. No large synthesis in any field was possible until a certain progress had been made with analysis. Until late years the subjects of scientific study were considered just as capable of being confined in water-tight compartments as were the subjects of the *trivium* and the *quadrivium*. Chemistry, physics, geology, astronomy, and the like were conceived of as moving along parallel lines which might be infinitely prolonged without danger of meeting. The same thing was true of the languages, the national literatures, and even the religions of men. All or any of these might be studied without anyone supposing it to be necessary to introduce the individual to an authentic family circle. Under such circumstances, there was nothing strange in the keeping of even European histories within their national boundaries. The idea of the intrusion of Asia could be viewed only as a menace, comparable to that which Athens discerned in the armies of Darius and Xerxes.

The period of intercourse and intercommunication which existed as between Europe and Asia up to the fourteenth century, and which the dominion of the Mongol rather assisted than hindered, was somewhat rudely interrupted as the sway of the Ottoman increased in power and extent. Of course, this interruption did not come all at once, nor did it ever reach the point of an absolute barrier, as some historians have maintained. Nevertheless, the three great land-routes by which soldiers, merchants, and missionaries had hitherto passed from Asia to Europe, or from Europe to Asia, were effectively blocked. From that time, except in the case of Russia, Asia and Europe were for a while definitely estranged.

A new direction was given to human energy through the work of men like Henry of Portugal and the gallant company of navigators who followed his lead. Their work was, of course, to restore broken communications and to reopen the road to Cathay. But it was long ere these efforts gave back to the knowledge of men more than a mere fringe of the Asiatic continent. And in the meantime voyagers on unknown seas had beheld new goals and fallen under the spell of lands hitherto unimagined.

So, for America in particular, the path of destiny was blazed westward. Cathay ceased to be the cynosure of adventurous eyes. Tasks came thick and fast to hand in the garnering of the new, strange things which crowded upon the explorers. It is not surprising, therefore, that the colonists of the Western Continent began to lose consciousness of that ancient world which lay beyond the land of their fathers. Much even of the ancestral home sank below the horizon of memory, though for one purpose and another men still went back to Europe as Robinson Crusoe went back to his wreck. The story which Mr. John Buchan has sketched for us in *The Path of the King* is still strange to the average American.

In the present outline the writer is not concerned with the task of recalling the obligations of the United States to Europe. These are not only obvious but are of so concrete a character

that no array of pedantry, however determined, will ever be able to diminish the interest of European history for the American student. But while Europe is knocking at one door, we are slowly beginning to recognize that this particular door may prove to be the back door of our domestic establishment, while what we have scarcely deemed a portal of access at all is rapidly assuming the dignity of a front entrance. So all Asia confronts us with a new interest, an immediate and insistent appeal. The old Asia, shut off from the West by the inrush of Turkish hordes, is developing a modern attitude toward the most modern developments of the Western world, and neither world may disregard the other. A great ocean, bearing, we trust, a prophetic name, carries with its waves the influence of the West to the East and that of the East to the West. No Mrs. Partington of politics, sweeping with the broom of partisanship, may banish these influences from our respective shores.

In the pages which are to follow, the attempt will be made to suggest what these influences are and to give their historical embodiment. The story will necessarily show roots very deep in the past. Only in this way are we enabled to appreciate the developments which have sprung from those roots and have spread so far over the world. To the general observer of things Asiatic it might seem sufficient to present just a sketch of social and political conditions as they are at the present day; but the moment we try to lay our hands on these it is found that, as the drinking-horn of Thor communicated with the vast and universal ocean, so existing conditions in India, China, Japan, and Asia generally are vitally consequent upon all that precedes them, back to the very beginning of the story.

Apart, moreover, from the present relation of Asia to our educational, religious, commercial, and political problems, there are reasons which Americans will at once recognize to be valid for studying, at least in outline, the record of the Asiatic continent.

It may well be that we have in Asia the cradle of the human race itself. Too many cradles have been suggested, it is true,

to incline one to be dogmatic on such a subject, but the ancient story of Eden as the abode of our first parents may not unfittingly be so modernized, in the light of the discoveries of a Raphael Pumpelly or a Roy Chapman Andrews, as to suggest the centre of the Asiatic continent for the starting-point of the long human pilgrimage which is history's imaginary beginning. At least this much seems certain, that somewhere on the high plains of Central Asia, long before the increasing aridity of the land forced the dispersion of the more enterprising members of the community into other climes, a civilization was formed, out of which were quarried foundation stones on which to rear the edifice of culture for the rest of the civilized world.

Of course, all the currents flowing from this supposed source of history may not be traced throughout their entire length, nor easily throughout any part of that length. Nevertheless, it is fairly plain that, in following the course of Asiatic history from as early a point as we can reach, we find ourselves associated with strong tides of developing life which carry us far beyond the bounds of Asia, tides whose pulsations are still strongly felt in the events of our own time. We recall the strong and steady movements which gave to the valleys of the Huang-ho, the Indus, and the Euphrates the age-long civilizations of Chinese, Indian, and Sumerian. We think again of that great sweep of wave after wave, Aramæan, Hittite, Scythian — this last shaking the power of Assyria toward its fall and affording the Hebrew his apocalyptic slogan of "The Day of the Lord." We remember also the devastating onrush of the Hun, which in the East led to the raising of China's gigantic rampart Wall, and in the West did so much toward bringing to ruin the splendid edifice of Roman imperialism. We recall the tremendous impact of the Mongol in the thirteenth century, which swept away so much of the Occidental culture of Russia. It spread so far both east and west that, while Japanese mothers stilled their children with the threat, "The Mogu will get you," the terrorized fishermen off the English coast were unable to

supply Scandinavian merchants with herring. Last but not least, we remember the westward march of the conquering Ottoman whose book of destiny is not yet inscribed to the last page.

On all these currents, even on those which, laden with the débris of empires, seemed most barbarous and destructive, were borne those elements of culture upon which we plume ourselves to-day. It would be sufficient to prove the point by reminding ourselves of the fact that a mere list of the things for which the West is indebted to the civilization of one Asiatic country, China, suggests quite a considerable part of the history of modern culture. The present is indeed an age of stupendous advance, but, granting the utmost to the creative genius of our own time and race, we should never have run our mile but for the furlong achieved by the pioneers of the Middle Kingdom. We need only recall her silk-culture, her porcelains, her knowledge of the magnetic needle, her use of paper, of printing, of gunpowder, her genius for road-making, not to mention her speculations as to abstruser matters.

To this mere hint of things for which the West is indebted to China we may add the debt of Europe and America to that large part of the population of Asia which we call Semitic. The fact is not to be neglected that the Semite was the middleman in literature and commerce as well as in religion. Palestine and the head of the Red Sea offer on the map that narrow strip of land through which passed the products of the Far East, the silks and pig iron of China, the spices of India, on their way to the markets of Alexandria and Rome. Through almost the same corridor were carried to the Western world the beast-stories and other venerable fables of India in various linguistic disguises. In the vernacular of the Arab many of the romantic themes of prose and poetry, possibly even the poetic forms themselves, entered Europe, soon to be acclimatized in the literatures of Spain, Provence, Italy, and France. By the selfsame channels came likewise back to Europe treasures which she had well-nigh lost in the ages of barbarism, namely, the wisdom of Aristotle and other sages of ancient Greece.

One more point with reference to the past may still engage our attention, namely, the dependence of the modern world upon Asia in the matter of religion. It is not too much to say that every great religion which has put forth a claim to be considered a world faith has had its cradle in Asia. Judaism, Christianity, and Muhammadanism have all sprung from one comparatively restricted area in Western Asia. India has produced Hinduism, the creed of over two hundred million souls, and Buddhism which, though expelled from the land of its nativity, took on new life together with new elements of belief and practice among the millions of Central Asia, China, Japan, Burmah, and Southeastern Asia. China, moreover, has kept her faith in Confucius, though at the same time she has permitted the ancient philosophy of Taoism to degenerate into charlatanry. Persia has given birth to the system of Zoroaster, and, since the decline of the Magian, has reached out to the West with sundry forms of eclecticism. Her Mithraism attracted the reverence of the Roman soldiers as far west as Britain. She produced the Manichæanism whose votaries were burned at York and Orleans, and whose opinions were quenched with blood during the Albigensian crusade. Out of her have come the Babism and Bahaism preached in our American cities to-day. No one, West or East, who takes any interest in religion to-day, can possibly dispense with the effort to understand something of the history of Asia.

All we have said so far applies to the story of the past. With it in mind, it certainly cannot be said that Asia belongs to another world, to which our own may be indifferent. It surely is not a world which let the legions of the West thunder past while she herself "plunged in thought again." If Europe at times invaded Asia, three times in succession was Europe almost conquered by the Asiatic — the Arab, the Tatar, and the Turk. Nor is it sufficient to dismiss the humanity of the Orient as impersonal. In the mind of anyone who pauses for a moment to reflect there will rise the memory of Orientals as great in personality as any the West may offer. Not to bring into the

discussion the Founder of the Christian religion, have we any historical figures anywhere who have influenced as many people and in such manifold ways as — to name only a few — Confucius, the Sage of China; Gautama, the Buddha; Zoroaster, the Prophet of Iran; Muhammad, the camel-driver of Mecca, who created an empire which still provides its problems for the world; the Wall-builder of China? Or has the West produced such thunderbolts of war as Jenghiz Khan and Timur the Lame? If the tides of history are indeed moved by human as well as by physical forces, this is true of Asia to as great a degree as of Europe or America. No continent has ever been more prolific in the great personalities without which history loses so much of its significance.

What of the present? History has sometimes been divided into three great periods. First comes the potamic, the period of river-valley civilizations such as those of the Nile, the Indus, and the Huang-ho. Secondly, the thalassic, or period of civilization developing around an inland sea such as the Mediterranean. Thirdly, the oceanic. But of this oceanic period one stage is passing away under our eyes. It is that during which the Atlantic has been regarded as the ocean centre of the world. There can be little or no doubt — and the words of foresighted statesmen not a few might here be quoted — that the course of empire which once passed westward across the Atlantic has at last reached the shores of a vaster ocean, the Pacific. Henceforth the Pacific and the countries around its rim, with their hinterlands and their island groups, will almost inevitably become the particular domain of Clio, the Muse of History.

The Pacific era is destined to become the era of a new America, a new China, a new Japan, a new India, and a new Australasia. In some cases the story is only begun. In others evidence is coming in too rapidly for most people to deduce from it the right conclusions. Already, to match the great ports of Europe and the Atlantic seaboard, Hongkong and Shanghai have obtained a place among the world's emporiums.

Already our civilization, along the four paths of diplomacy, education, business, and religion, has come to a point where it stands on tiptoe to carry its mission to the nations of the Orient. It is beginning to be intelligently realized that the future, not merely of a locality but of a whole nation, and not merely of a nation but of civilization itself, internationally considered, may depend upon the alert and instructed use of the present opportunity.

Of this opportunity we dare not become mere passive spectators. The Greeks made much of an element in history to which they gave the name *pronoia*, or foresight. It is an element which we hold to be both divine and human. But upon "the other than ourselves," however we conceive of it, we may never unload our own immediate responsibility. The directive foresight of men by which the evolution of the race is influenced is something which may never, under any pretext, be left unexercised. It is vain to talk of evolution if we mean thereby nothing but a series of happy accidents through which things come out not altogether badly. The human mind and the human will alike are at least among the most important factors in evolution to-day. The political obligations of democracy amount to nothing less than our responsibility for making our wills intelligently coöperative in bringing the course of history to its proper goal.

With a foreign policy largely in the hands of constituencies whose desires are followed in the main by the politicians who represent them, it is of the utmost importance that the individual atoms of these constituencies should know enough of the peoples of Asia so that the foreign policy of the United States may keep our vast ocean true to its name. With business men anxious to promote that intercourse which shall create demand for the products and manufactures of outside lands, it is of the greatest consequence that business be founded upon real appreciation, sympathy, and mutual understanding. With our educators seeking to carry to Oriental lands the institutions, standards, and curricula, and especially the morale of our own

schools, it is essential that they do not at the start vitiate their endeavor by ignorant depreciation of Asiatic standards and ideals which in the past have done so much to subdue barbarism and extend culture. Above all, with our thousands of missionaries, ready at the risk of comfort and even of life to bear to the Orient the things which they most surely believe and prize, it is of the first moment that they learn enough about the old religions of the countries to which they are sent to prevent their destroying, in the name of Christ, the things which Christ would approve. To do that would be, in the name of the Spirit of God, to oppose that Spirit which has never left itself without witness.

The understanding of these things will not make the study of our subject the less serious or the less sincere. Rather, it will enable us to feel that, in order to understand the part aright, some knowledge of the whole is needed. We shall see each separate event the more clearly, and understand it the more completely, as we behold it associated with that which is at once its cause and its complement.

An historian of a past generation,[1] while protesting against the disposition to divide history into what is ancient and what is modern, rather curtly assumes that Western history alone is of any special interest, because it alone is the exemplification of the three great characteristics of law, liberty, and pure religion. It is not our purpose to minimize the importance of any of these. But surely we may see that these things are not to be studied only on European or American soil or only by the light of Western example.

There are doubtless many questions regarding Asia which we must not too easily foreclose. We should, for example, ask whether it is altogether fair to think of Asia as a single entity. We should consider whether the talk about an "Oriental mind" is the outcome of fact or is a mere product of Occidental stupidity. We shall certainly have to consider whether there is any hard and fast distinction between East and West.

[1] E. A. Freeman, *History of the Saracens*.

We shall have to inquire again whether the statement be true that what we call progress is a note of civilization foreign to the atmosphere of Asia, and indeed whether progress is the only element of civilization which deserves the attention of the historian.

Such questions will be treated in their due time and place. Without anticipating, it is hoped that the life of Asia and her children will be found to provide as organic and consistent a story as the life of any other region of the globe. For the present, we must be content with the statement that we do not intend to stress the history of the East in order to depreciate the story of the West. Rather, by reference to the East we hope to make the history of the West more intelligible than it is to most people at the present day. For if there be any lesson which a wide survey of history teaches more plainly than almost anything else, it is this: that civilization, as we know it and as we trust it may in fuller measure become, is neither Oriental nor Occidental. Rather is it the product of human efforts, both East and West, correcting and stimulating each other.

Men look to the East for the dawning things, for the light of the rising sun,
But they look to the West, to the crimson West, for the things which are done,
    are done. . . .
So out of the East they have always come, the cradle that saw the birth
Of all the heart-warm hopes of man, and all the hopes of the earth.
And into the waiting West they go, with the dream-child of the East,
To find the hopes that they hoped of old are a hundredfold increased.
For here in the East men dream the dreams of the things they hope to do,
And here in the West, the crimson West, the dreams of the East come true.[1]

[1] Douglas Mallock.

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CHAPTER II

HOW THE CHANNELS OF ASIATIC HISTORY WERE MADE

What are the forces which determine the course of history? Some will stress one thing and some another. To some, history is a branch of economics, to some the consequence of climate, to others a mere matter of geography, to others the working out of purposeful will, human and divine. It will be clear, I think, that there is a combination of many forces, working competitively and coöperatively. Certainly personality plays a part. Again and again it declares, "There shall be no Alps," when Alps seem to bar advance. Again and again it cleanses a land of ills which seemed to forbid the habitation of man. Yet, whatever emphasis we place on this and other things, we may not ignore as a basis for history the geographic and the climatic conditions.

As a first step toward studying the history of Asia, it becomes necessary to make very sure that we move easily in its geography. Of course, one has to allow for certain changes which have taken place in past millenniums. The upheaval of the Himalayas, the land-gain at the head of the Persian Gulf, and the like, have done much to alter the map of Asia. Geological changes, it is true, were too early to affect human history directly, but indirectly they must have had much to do with human migrations. Especially was this the case in the centre of Asia, where gradually increasing aridity kept humanity constantly on the move. We may gain a fair idea of the general fluidity of life in Asia if in imagination we turn into water the

whole continent except the high mountain-ranges, which will then stand out as barriers to movement. Then we have three rather well defined areas. First, there is the immense northern region, which is fairly inert. We may even think of it as ice-bound, except for the slow but steady migration westward into Europe and a very intermittent flow of small bodies of men, forced across the Behring Straits, to become the tribes of North and South America. In the next place, all across Central Asia we have a broad mass of waters from which rise continually bubbling springs such as keep the whole mass in movement. These springs induce currents which flow in a limited degree toward the east and the islands of the Japanese archipelago, more unrestrainedly westward over the plains of Europe, but most of all toward the south. In this direction we have a number of "pockets" which form real geographical units. In these most of the history of Asia has been made. Reckoning from the east, we have the broad spaces and river valleys of China; next the peninsula of Indo-China, affording a channel right out to the isles of the Pacific; India and Ceylon; the valley of the Euphrates; the great, dimly known peninsula of Arabia; and lastly, one of the main ways into Europe — Asia Minor.

It would be premature to speak of Central Asia as the cradle of the human race, but we shall not be far wrong in regarding it as at least one of the most important centres of evolution. If it was not there that our hypothetical ancestors descended from the trees — become sparser with the increasing drought — and so, with the help of stick and stone, commenced their march toward civilization, we are quite sure with regard to other developments almost as significant for the future of mankind.

The climatic changes of which we have spoken, whether due to decreasing rainfall or to retreating glaciation, must have induced very extensive migrations. No doubt many would remain, and perish as conditions became more and more unfavorable. Others might stay on and be sufficiently tough to

adapt themselves, moving enough to seek fresh pasturage and taming the wild horses in order to ride from place to place. But others, presumably the most adventurous, would fare farther along the lines of least resistance, seeking more congenial climate, and bearing with them the germs of the civilization already attained, to compete elsewhere in the struggle for survival.

Thus we are able to conceive of two main types in Asia: (*a*) The large number of tribes able to survive through sluggish endurance rather than through activity and alertness — the great masses whose story is of small cultural advance, though having immense power of inertia. (*b*) The people who, carrying with them the germs of their old culture, were stimulated by necessity to fresh gains, and found their way to the fair lot provided by Nature in rich river valleys. There for a time they developed a still higher culture, such as ease and wealth enabled them to attain, until loss of the fighting-edge exposed them to the attack of fresh waves of vigorous and desperate invaders.

Rough as is such a sketch, and much as it leaves to be supplied, it nevertheless gives us a not untrue conception of what may be called the proto-history of Asia. The explorations of Mr. Raphael Pumpelly [1] and others have indicated the existence of a great civilization in Central Asia some nine thousand years ago. The work of Mr. Ellsworth Huntington [2] has shown again the reality of the climatic changes which led men of the old civilization to trek to the south. We begin to touch the skirts of history when we see these trekkings slowed up by aboriginal opposition, and when empires begin to arise where equilibrium has at last been reached.

Of the cultural pockets in Southern and Eastern Asia to which allusion has been made, three must be specially mentioned, though the others too have their interest and importance.

We have China, a land beyond the mountains and the deserts, in the wonder-plain through which flows the Huang-ho and,

[1] See *Explorations in Turkestan.* [2] See *The Pulse of Asia.*

as the movements of men continued, in the even more desirable valley of the Yang-tze. As we study the map we see that there was manifestly but one open road into this spacious domain, and it is equally plain that the progress southward, slackened as it inevitably was by the hostility of the aboriginal tribes, would by opposition gain in solidity and strength. In speaking of this early civilization we may omit the story of the Great Artificer, the mythical P'an Ku [1] out of whose body the universe was made, men being but the vermin crawling over his skin. We may omit too the mythical two million years and more which precede the commencement of even probable history. But we may treat it as reasonably certain that some four thousand years B.C. there was filtering in from regions to the west a great body of comparatively pacific folk who were already the possessors of a considerable culture. To judge by the ideograms, they were herdsmen, valuing sheep so highly as to make the character "big sheep" equivalent to "beauty," and yet were agriculturists enough to make "field strength" synonymous with "boy." They divined with cracks on scorched pieces of tortoise shell, regarded the North as "the back-country," the East as the quarter whence the sun shone between the trees, the South as the jungle filled with wild beasts, and the West as the land where the sun sank to sleep like a bird upon its nest.

Without being critical as to names and dates, it is quite possible to recognize in the Ten Periods of Ascent such cultural advances as the abandonment of tree-dwellings, the invention of cooking,[2] — following of course upon the discovery of fire, — and the first use of pictorial writing. It is reasonable also to see in the dynastic story, commencing 2852 B.C., something more than myth in the achievements of China's great culture hero, Fu-hsi. To this personage are ascribed the first use of the six domestic animals, the beginnings of sericulture, the weaving

[1] See S. W. Williams, *The Middle Kingdom*, vol. II, p. 139.

[2] *Cf.* Charles Lamb's "Dissertation upon Roast Pig," inspired by his friend, the Sinologist, Thomas Manning.

of fishing-nets, the first use of musical instruments, and the first worship of the Supreme Being, Shang-Ti. Then followed Shên-nung, the Divine Husbandman, who first fashioned timber into ploughs, taught the people the art of husbandry, discovered the curative virtues of plants, and instituted the holding of markets for exchange of commodities. A worthy third is Huang-Ti, who invented ships, armor, and pottery, introduced the use of wheeled vehicles, and is supposed to have used for the first time the magnetic needle for his "south-pointing chariot." [1] It is only after these that the Confucian history [2] begins with the "Model Emperors," Yao and Shun, but all Five Rulers are very real figures to modern Chinese. We do no violence to historic probability if we place most of the above-mentioned cultural gains in the China of five thousand years ago.

Our second main pocket is the great subcontinent of India, shut off from the north by the tremendous mountain-barrier of the Himalayas, — the abode of winter, — and approached by land only through the narrow passes to the northeast and northwest. Within the triangle thus formed we have the river systems of the Indus, Ganges, and Brahmaputra, and, farther south, the plateau of the Dekkan or Southland, bounded by the Vindhya Mountains on the north and the Eastern and Western Ghats. Obviously here was a tempting refuge from the race struggles of Central Asia. Here, till subdued by the climate, a vigorous strain, constantly recruited through the passes from the colder north, must inevitably play a noteworthy part. Unfortunately we cannot be precise about history in India without being, more often than not, precisely wrong. In China historical records are piled up in mountainous archives. In India, after the deed is done the philosophical turn of mind of the race does not favor the recording of it. Things of the spirit are so much more important than our Western facts that

[1] Huang-Ti's wife, "the Lady of Si-ling," was famous for her manipulation of silkworms, and has become the patron goddess of sericulture.

[2] See the *Shu Ching*, or *Book of History*.

the philosopher has crowded out the historian. Practically all Indian history comes from the record of outsiders. Apart from this, Indian dates have no chronological value. Billions of years are but the day of Brahma,[1] who breathes out worlds only to withdraw them again by his breath into their original nothingness.

It will be sufficient to say only a word with regard to India's prehistoric period. In the beginning the land was probably occupied by certain Negrito tribes. These were very likely the "monkey tribes" which, under their leader, Hanuman, assisted Rama in the recovery of his wife Sita from the demon-king of Ceylon.[2] Later there came pouring into India hordes of Mongolian strain. One of these, coming from the northeast, is sometimes called Kolarian, and has given us such tribes as the Kols and Bhils. Another wave, entering by the northwest passes, has produced the well-marked tribes of Tamils, Telugus, Kanarese, and so on. These we call Dravidian, and their advance southward necessarily displaced other peoples, pushing them into the islands of the sea. Thus probably originated the Veddahs of Ceylon, the Toalas of Celebes, the Batin of Sumatra, and possibly the inhabitants of Australia. The Dravidians had — it would appear — time to develop a very considerable culture and even a literature, though the later Aryan invaders dubbed them rakshasas,[3] or demons. They apparently traded with the Sumerian inhabitants of the Euphrates, with whom they were possibly connected racially. At any rate they seem to have derived by way of the Persian Gulf quite a stock of legendary material.[4] In turn these Dravidians too were pushed out into the Malay peninsula and Indonesia, possibly far out among the islands of the Pacific. "Round the monsoon civilizations before 1000 B.C. there may have been many little marginal civilizations in Indo-China

[1] A "day of Brahma" is properly 4,320,000,000 mortal years.
[2] In the epic story of the *Ramayana*.
[3] Literally, "protectors," a euphemism.
[4] Including the Deluge stories.

and Malaysia. The Malays indeed were the Phœnicians of the East, and apparently made even longer hauls than the Semitic mariners, their oceanic elbow-room giving them greater scope than the coasts of the Mediterranean and Red Seas."[1] It would be very interesting to attempt some reconstruction of Dravidian history, but the elements are at present all too hypothetical.

How and when the original Sumerian colonies first entered the Euphrates Valley we do not know. It is plain that they brought with them a certain civilization, and that in the city-states which they created they rapidly developed new and important institutions. The obliquely-set eyes of statues found at Telloh make it probable that some link existed between the Sumerian and the Mongol.[2] The Euphrates Valley certainly possessed some of the arts we find in primitive China. These include writing in linear pictograms, the use of domesticated animals, river navigation, brick-making, pottery, goldsmithing, mining, carpentering, and sculpture. In the Euphrates Valley there was trade in wheat, dates, and manufactured goods; money in the form of rings and bars, the lever, inclined plane, arch, and drain-pipe were used. Like the early Chinese, the Sumerians used the sexagesimal method of numeration, and in astronomy were acquainted with the year of three hundred and sixty-five and a quarter days. In religion the people were unduly disposed toward the use of apotropaic magic, but they had also a system of planetary gods who were worshiped in the seven stages of the temple towers known as zikkurats. They also reverenced a city god, known as King or Master,[3] represented by a visible priest-king who was called the patesi. In literature remarkable progress was made; the remains include deed tablets, omen and exorcism tablets, psalms and hymns, creation stories, historical texts, and fragments of epics. The epic of *Gilgamesh* is the oldest of poems

[1] A. R. Cowan, *A Guide to World History.*
[2] L. W. King, *History of Sumer and Accad*, p. 54.
[3] In the Semitic tongues, "Melek" and "Baal."

dealing with the quest for immortality. It set the fashion — derived, of course, from astronomy — of writing an epic in twelve books. Vergil and Milton followed Sumerian precedent in this particular, even as we follow it in the designations of the days of the week and in the sixties on the faces of our clocks.

The Sumerian people seem, on the whole, to have been peace-loving and commercial, but their best qualities exposed them to the avarice and brute force of more vigorous populations pressing constantly from the north. Of course the history of the city-states of Nippur, Erech, Ur, Lagash, and the rest, is not without its warlike episodes, but as a rule the Sumerian patesi were of the type of Gudea,[1] temple-builders and priests of their respective city gods. Hence, unfortunately, their inability to resist the onslaughts of their more belligerent rivals.

From the great prehistoric movements which filled the valleys of the Huang-ho, the Ganges and the Euphrates with the earliest civilizations of Asia let us turn to survey the second movement of Asiatic peoples. This belongs for the most part to Western Asia, and to it we give the name Semitic. Of the origin of the Semites it is obviously impossible to speak in a work of this size. Interesting theories have been put forward connecting them with Arabia, with Armenia, even with Africa. The view most generally accepted hitherto has been that they came — at least in times historic — out of Arabia. From the mysterious deserts of the great southwestern peninsula they seemed to emerge at intervals of about a thousand years. Their swarmings were the mak ng of history both anear and afar. Arabia has always been a land producing more people than it could support, and the very hardness of the existence singularly fitted them for leadership, made them greedy for adventure, and equipped them for success in commerce or in war.

We shall see that the whole history of Asia was more than once determined by the overflowings of Arabia. One great overflowing spelled the doom of the Sumerians — or at least

[1] A priest-king of Lagash, after the time of Sargon of Agade.

of their predominance. According to the reckoning of the neo-Babylonian king Nabonidus, Sargon of Agade,[1] the first great Semitic raider of the Euphrates, appeared as early as 3800 B.C., though the date may well be a millennium later. In any case, Sargon was a conqueror on a large scale, invading Syria, laying waste Phœnicia, Elam, and all the territory of the lower Euphrates. He affirms proudly, in the inscription which narrates his lowly birth and his preservation in an ark of bulrushes: "I commanded the Black Heads, and ruled them."[2] His son Naram-sin followed in his footsteps and further, but for a while the Semitic dominance of the Euphrates seems to have been checked. The real power of the Semite came with the foundation of the first Babylonian dynasty about 2000 B.C., the creation of Babylon as the capital by Hammurabi[3] (probably the Amraphel of Genesis xiv), and the placing of all Mesopotamia under one law. Hammurabi was notable for many things, including the perfecting of the great irrigation system of the Euphrates, but his present fame rests upon the celebrated Code, which goes to prove how much law was known and formulated before the days of the Romans. The Code of Hammurabi was set up by the king in Babylon but later removed by an invader to Susa, and was there discovered in 1901–02. It is the best possible introduction to a knowledge of the social conditions of Western Asia two thousand years before Christ. We might say, even earlier, since earlier Sumerian codes have been shown to contain a good deal of similar material.[4] We here see the Babylonians at their best and at their worst. We find them recognizing the law as supreme, emphasizing the sacredness of person, contract, and property, affording rights to womanhood and protection to childhood. We see also the inequality before the law of the three classes of gentlemen, freemen, and slaves, the use of the *lex talionis*,[5] employment

[1] To be distinguished, of course, from the Assyrian Sargon of the eighth century B.C.
[2] Tablet in British Museum. See *Catalogue of Babylonian Antiquities*, p. 175.
[3] See *The Code of Hammurabi*, R. F. Harper.
[4] The Code influenced in its turn Assyrian and Hebrew legislation.
[5] "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth."

of the ordeal where guilt is uncertain, and various other defects not wholly remedied in the jurisprudence of our own time.

It is not necessary to trace all the movements which followed the establishment of the old Babylonian Empire. About 1700 B.C. a mountain tribe from Elam formed in the same region, and over a still greater extent of territory, what is known as the Kassite dynasty. About the same time we come across the empire of the Hittites,[1] whom, from the references in the Bible, we should hardly have suspected of such widespread dominion. With their centre in Cappadocia and Cilicia, they formed a formidable empire almost to the time of the eighth century B.C. The Hittite movement is in fact but one illustration of that pressure of Aryan peoples eastward and southward of which the Trojan War may be regarded as an incident.[2] It would take us too far to show how all this is connected with the destruction of that Minoan civilization of which such interesting relics were left in Crete, and from which refugees, whom we call Philistines,[3] came later to the coast named after them — Palestine. An important document for the study of several of these peoples, including the Hittites, is that remarkable collection of the international correspondence of Egyptian kings, made in the fourteenth century B.C. and known, from the place of its discovery, as the Tell el-Amarna letters.[4] The deathblow to Hittite power was given at the battle of Kadesh, at which Rameses II of Egypt at once defeated the northern armies and exhausted the Egyptian effort to regain dominion in Asia.

One of the greatest militarisms of history made its appearance about this time, to the terrorizing of almost all Western Asia. Assyria, like Babylon, has furnished symbols and synonyms for the poets and prophets of the after-time. To these the "throned tigers" of Asshur have represented both the glorification and the nemesis of cruelty and force. Assyrian litera-

[1] See *The Hittites* (Cowley); *The Empire of the Hittites* (Wright).

[2] The word "Teucrian," used of the Trojans, is probably derived from "Tark," the name of the Hittite war-god.

[3] Properly "Pulasti."

[4] Now in British Museum. See *Catalogue*, p. 177.

ture consists in large part of the boastings of kings who record with pride things such as the following: "Every second person was killed. I constructed a wall before the gates of the town; I skinned the chiefs of the revolt, and covered the walls with their hides. Some were built living into the masonry, others crucified or impaled along the wall." [1] A virile and warlike people, rising to power in the mountain land northeast of the Euphrates, the Assyrians pushed their way into the valley, captured Babylon, and even penetrated Egypt by way of Palestine, till their empire extended over a wider territory than the Babylonian had ever known. How the shadow of the Assyrian lay upon the little kingdom of Judah is revealed dramatically in the books of the Old Testament prophets, Amos, Hosea, Micah, and Isaiah. In one case, in the person of Asshurbanipal,[2] the Assyrians rendered service to culture by the establishment of the great library at Nineveh,[3] wherein were copies in vast quantities of the earlier literature of the Euphrates. Beyond this, the work of one enlightened monarch, the Assyrians contributed little to history but the bloodiest renown. Certainly no world power in ancient times ever saw its end acclaimed with so universal a pæan of exultation as burst forth when at last, in 606 B.C., "the bloody city" fell.[4] The final catastrophe came partly as a result of the Scythian invasion, of which Assyria had to bear the brunt, partly through the attack made upon Nineveh by the combined forces of the Medes and of Nabopolasar, the rebel vicegerent of the province of Babylon. The fall of Nineveh was followed by a brief period of neo-Babylonian imperialism, in which the chief figure was Nebuchadrezzar, the Nebuchadnezzar of the Book of Daniel. This monarch was as distinguished for the lightning-like campaigns which carried him into Egypt and brought about the destruction of Jerusalem as for the building projects which made

[1] See inscriptions of Tiglath Pileser IV, Sargon II, Sennacherib, etc.
[2] 668–626 B.C.
[3] Discovered by George Smith in 1873.
[4] See the Old Testament prophet Nahum.

Babylon the architectural wonder of the world. But the proud conqueror left no one worthy to succeed him, and under Nabonidus and his son Belshazzar this empire sank to ruin before the attack of Cyrus, King of Anshan, in 539 B.C.

Before speaking of the Aryan invasion of Asia, of which the conquests of Cyrus represent but one wave, it is important that we appreciate the importance of the part played in the history of Western Asia by one physically insignificant but morally influential tribe. The Hebrews — or as we now call their descendants, the Jews — formed one of a number of Semitic septs, including Edom, Moab, Ammon, and others. Probably they were of mixed blood, if we accept the rather brutal taunt of the prophet Ezekiel: "Your mother was a Hittite, and your father an Amorite." [1] They appeared first in Palestine as immigrants (which is what the word "Hebrew" signifies) about 2000 B.C., if we may assign that date to the story of Abraham. Outside the Bible the first reference to them is in the Tell el-Amarna tablets, where we find the Chabiri as one of the tribes in rebellion against the Egyptian suzerainty. In patriarchal times the Hebrews were animistic in theology, worshiping Elohim or Powers who were associated with springs and trees and stones. Their social institutions were tribal and in morals they did not differ essentially from the surrounding tribes. But they were characterized by intense moral earnestness and by a tenacity which went far toward determining their destiny. In the next stage of their history, apparently after some of them had endured a period of slavery in Egypt, they developed under the leadership of Moses a strongly nationalistic trend. They accepted as their national champion Yahweh,[2] the mountain God of Sinai, and under His inspiration made an attack upon the morally decadent Canaanitish tribes. Here war to the knife long went on between the nomad

[1] Ezekiel xvi, 45.

[2] Through a mistaken combination of the vowels and consonants of two different words, often printed as "Jehovah," a word which does not appear till the time of the Reformation.

Israelites with their fierce puritanism and the settled tribes of Palestine with their lascivious agricultural rites.

The development of the prophet, from the stage when he was a mere medicine-man,[1] or shaman, to that wherein he appears as the inspired spokesman of a moral deity, is one of the great religious moments of history. Side by side with this was a more secular development, which led ultimately to the establishment of a kingdom. In the lull which followed the weakening by war of the three great powers of Babylon, Egypt, and the Hittites, and prior to the rise of Assyria to world influence, the monarchy was created — tentatively by Saul, really by David and Solomon. North and South did not hold long together, and the Assyrian made an end of the northern kingdom of Israel in 726 B.C. Judah succumbed something over a century later to the might of Nebuchadnezzar. Yet out of the destruction of Jewish nationalism came influences which have been of permanent value. A truly monotheistic theology took the place of the old national cult; ideas of international relations in which Israel was to play the rôle of the Servant of Yahweh superseded the former narrow devotion to the homeland; larger views of life, including a doctrine of future retribution, took the place of the vague eschatology of earlier periods. Through the writings of prophets and psalmists the world was placed under a great debt to the Jew, and a middle stage revealed between primitive forms of religion and a universal faith. The destruction of Jerusalem at the hands of the Babylonian came in 586 B.C., but victory lay with Jerusalem as an ideal, while Babylon became for all time the synonym for a crass and brutal materialism, doomed to perish through the power of the spirit.

One more movement of peoples on the grand scale should be suggested, namely, that which we distinguish by the term Aryan. Although the name — which signifies, first, the ploughman,[2] and then the nobleman — is applicable to language

[1] *Cf.* I Samuel IX, 9, *et passim.*

[2] From an obsolete Sanskrit root, *ar*, to plough. *Cf.* Lat. *aro;* Eng. *arable.*

rather than to race, the Aryan movement does denote definite migrations of people over large regions of Europe and Asia. The cradle of the Aryan-speaking peoples has been variously placed by ethnologists, but it is now generally sought somewhere in Central Europe. Some have fixed upon what is now Lithuania,[1] on the strength of remarkable parallels to Vedic civilization in language, custom, and folklore. Others prefer what we now call Transylvania[2] as the starting-point for what was in any case a wonderful migration. The main movement was probably through the Balkan peninsula, thence through Asia Minor, where certain Aryan deities were known to the Assyrians. A forking of the stream of migration further east led one division of the line of march to slacken its advance, eventually to turn south into the lands of the Euphrates, while the other continued by way of Bactria into South Afghanistan and thence by the Kabul, the Kurram, and the Gumal into the great valley of the Indus. In the light of the oldest Avestan literature, the *Gâthas*, songs contemporary with Zoroaster himself, the parting of the movement seems to have resulted from a quarrel between the nomad herdsmen who wanted to go further into Asia and the agriculturists who preferred to remain and till "the holy soil." So to the latter the former became heretics, their gods demons, and some of their customs, once common to both branches, obnoxious.

As for the colonies that kept on into India, some fifteen hundred years before the Christian era these produced the earliest Aryan literature, the immortal hymns of the *Rig-Veda*,[3] and gave to the land of the Seven Rivers, the Sapta Sindhu,[4] a new culture and a new pantheon of gods. The Vedic poems, inspired by the march through stupendous mountain-gorges and across rivers which themselves were treated as deities, lifted

[1] *Cf.* Bender, *Home of the Indo-European.*

[2] *Cf. Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, ch. III.

[3] *Veda* means "knowledge" and *Rig* (*Rj*) "praise." The *Vedas* are generally reckoned as four; namely, the *Rig*, the *Yajur*, the *Sama*, and the *Atharva*.

[4] Now known as the Panjab, or Land of the Five Rivers. The Vedic Aryans made seven by including the main stream and the Sarasvati, which has now disappeared.

themselves almost spontaneously to the god who in so many forms seemed to have Nature for his living garment. There was Varuna, the ethical god, the god of the cosmic ocean; Indra, the warrior-god, with his subordinates, Rudra, the lightning, wild boar of the sky, and the Maruts, or angels of the storm; Agni, the priestly god, the fire upon the altar, with such other fire-gods and their attendants as Surya, the sun, with the Açvins or horsemen of the sky, and Ushas,[1] the rosy-fingered maiden of the dawn. Then there was Soma, the divine sacrificial drink, to whom the whole of the ninth book of the *Rig-Veda* is addressed; Yama, the god of death, and many another. Later these blended into a pantheistic conception of the universe, and in course of time became intermingled with the cruder and crueler worship of the Dravidians.

Our first view of Aryan India, seen through the medium of the *Veda*, shows us a hardy race of nature-lovers, flesh-eaters, soma-drinkers, ardent warriors not only against the natives — whom they scornfully designated "noseless," "non-soma-drinkers," and worse — but also among themselves. They were workers in metal and weavers of cloth, but seem to have had scant ability as builders and little or no experience of the sea. Their caste feeling was at first limited to distinguishing between themselves and the natives on grounds of color. The word "varna" means both caste and color. They were by no means the child-marrying, widow-burning folk of a few generations later. As they advanced from the valley of the Indus toward the "holy Ganges," the castes became four, differentiated occupationally as well as racially. There were the Brahmans or prayermen; the Kshatriyas or warriors; the Vaiçyas or artisans; and — lumping all the non-Aryans together in one promiscuous disapproval — the Çudras, of all grades of ignominy. Their advance was epoch-making in the history of India and of Asia.

The Aryan stream deflected in the west is generally known as Iranian, another form of the word Aryan. The term Persian

[1] The Açvins correspond with the Greek Dioscuroi (Castor and Pollux); Ushas is the same as Aurora.

applied to this branch is due to the Greeks of a later time, who looked upon the province of Pars, with its capital, Persepolis, as synonymous with the whole. There was probably a long period of pioneer Iranian story, such as is hinted at in the picturesque legends of the *Shah Namah*. The epic conflict between Iran and Turan[1] is plainly something more than myth, but the details must be merely conjectural.

Conjectural also must be most of the circumstances under which Indian and Iranian developed hostility in the matter of religion, though the reason given above is probably correct. Zoroaster gives the impression of being a very real personality. He must have been responsible for some great religious change, even though we feel rather than see him through the mist. We do not know precisely when he lived. Some have put him back thousands of years before Christ. The probability is that he was born about 660 B.C. and died — possibly by violence — in 583.[2] Arab historians say that it was two hundred and eighty years before the time of Alexander the Great. We do not know where Zoroaster was born. Opinion varies from West Iran in the neighborhood of Azerbaijan to East Iran somewhere in Bactria. The prophet's childhood and youth are filled with legend in default of fact. Thus he was born, as the Latin writers[3] remind us, laughing; and in his youth, as Shelley recalls, he "met his own image walking in the garden."[4] Tales are told to illustrate his love for animals, his retirement to the desert for seven years, his temptations by the prince of evil, his mountain communings with Ahuramazda, and his going forth to preach. His first convert was his first royal patron, Gushtasp, — Vishtasp or Hystaspes, — and from that time on he waged a holy war for the conquest of unbelievers and for the building of fire-temples throughout Iran. Back of all this we catch glimpses of a social and economic revolution. Zoroaster,

[1] In all probability "Turan" simply means "non-Aryan." The term "Turanian" is now often employed as synonymous with "Mongol."

[2] See Marion Crawford's novel, *Zoroaster*.

[3] *Cf.* Vergil's "*Incipe, parve puer, risu cognoscere matrem*" (*Eclog.* IV). Also Pliny.

[4] "Prometheus Unbound."

as we learn from the *Gâthas,* which many regard as the authentic utterances of the prophet, was the champion of the agriculturists as against the herdsmen. So the devas or gods of the Vedic Aryans became the dævas or demons of the *Avesta;* the soma-drinking [1] ceremony of the Eastern tribes became obnoxious to the West; and one Vedic deity or asura — probably Varuna, whose cult gradually passed away in India — was exalted to a supreme place in Persia: this was the Ahuramazda whom the Greeks called Ormuzd. In course of time, Iranian religion adopted much from the earlier dualism of the Euphrates Valley, until Ahuramazda to the Magian was all but matched in power by his parody or counter-worker,[2] Angramainyu (the Greek Ahriman), "who is all evil."

We pass from conjecture into the full light of history with the story of Cyrus (Kurush) the Great. In Western Asia Minor during the sixth century B.C. the most powerful of states was Lydia. It is best known in connection with its ruler Crœsus, whose name has become proverbial for wealth, and for the saying of Solon, "Let no man be called happy till his death." Lydia had subdued the other powers of the peninsula and had attained almost imperial prestige. Then came Cyrus, prince of Anshan, a petty principality of Elam, and after subduing the Medes, he launched a successful campaign to the west. Sardis fell and with it Crœsus, the story of whose fate is one of the most familiar in ancient history. The fall of Sardis was in 545 B.C. Six years later the conqueror marched against Babylon and defeated Nabonidus. The capital was surrendered about 539. The cry "Babylon is fallen, is fallen," echoed resoundingly throughout all the East. The passing of what had been the world's greatest metropolis marks a fitting point at which to close this brief survey of the ancient Asiatic world.

In closing, let us see what such a survey leaves us in the way of a bird's-eye view of the general condition of Asia in the

[1] The Iranian equivalent for "Soma" was "Haoma."
[2] *Cf.* Kipling, "The Seven Nights of Creation."

seventh and sixth centuries B.C. Of the regions our map included some have been all along within the shadow. The extreme eastern archipelago, which is afterward to be Japan, so far as history is concerned, is quite dark. Yet the archæologist can tell us much which the historian is well inclined to accept. Six thousand years ago,[1] in all probability, the people whom we call Ainus had begun to make the shell mounds around the Japanese coasts which to-day are in many respects articulate. Groping their way across the Euro-Asiatic continent, these members of an old Caucasian stock, specially distinguished by their hairiness, reached at last the islands where they are now diminished to a miserable remnant of some twenty thousand fishermen and hunters. They had a neolithic culture, used some artistry in their pottery, and were possibly cannibals. They had the bear for their totem, and celebrated the bear sacrifice with sacramental rites which recall passages in the Finnish *Kalevala*. They were also fetish-worshipers, using fetishes — or inao — of willow and lilac wood. They probably lived in caves and were known to later inhabitants as "earth-hiders" or "earth-spiders," though some ethnologists have distinguished between these and the Ainus proper.

In the southeast too there is darkness, though we are sure that here also there was mass-movement, whole tribes being pushed out into the islands of the Indian and Pacific oceans. Who can tell to what degree the rock-carvings and terraces of Easter Island or the temples of Tonga are relics of a civilization of which we shall never recover the story, mountain-tops of a long-submerged culture sunk forever out of sight?

For the rest, we may speak with a more or less confident accent only in the case of the countries we have mentioned. China has become a very definitely organized society, to which we must return in our next chapter. India has gone so far as to have lost the first spontaneity of religion and life under the Brahmanic system. The Euphrates civilization has been developed by one highly endowed race, only to be passed on again

[1] See Gordon Munro, *The Primitive Art of Japan*.

and again, with but little added, to other peoples pressing in from the north. The western parts of Asia, especially in Asia Minor, are feeling the pressure of other mass-movements, in a general way from Europe, such as defy any lucid analysis. The historian who is able to pick up the ethnological débris of Asia Minor and make therefrom a clear and convincing story for the general reader will certainly deserve our gratitude. But his time is not yet.

CHAPTER III

FROM CYRUS TO THE CHRISTIAN ERA

All the various geographical units mentioned in our last chapter must have been very much astir during the seven centuries which lead up to the beginning of the Christian era. Some of these movements are, of course, still beyond the reach of the conscientious historian, and of these we shall have little to say. Nevertheless, we feel certain things happening in the dark, which we have every right to claim as part of our story. For instance, in the Far Eastern archipelago we are conscious, almost as though we could see them, of new racial elements filtering in to disturb the peace of the Ainus. From the north come the people whom we describe as Sushen, a people possibly of the stock we now call Manchu. From the south we have the warlike race known as Kumaso, possibly of Malay, even of Polynesian origin. And from the continent, by way of Korea, come the Yamato tribes who settled in the west. As in the case of the inhabitants of the British Isles, Japan began her preparation for nationhood by the blending of several racial strains. The southeast again was undoubtedly feeling the pressure of mass-movements from the north, resisting them and suffering from them. But it was all a fight in the dark, as in a dense wood we might hear the battling of animals whom we could not see. We can hardly say more of the movements which were going on in the vast stretches of Central Asia, though here was the starting-point of the widespread disturbance. Economic pressure or restless personality was all the time initiating some tribal trek, which affected the neighbors

precisely as the fall of one domino affects the others set up in a row.

Though we may not be precise in linking up movement with movement to our complete satisfaction, we are made aware that during these centuries Asiatic history possesses a unity which is unexpected and rather startling. The great Achæmenian empire of Persia, for instance, was as conscious of the Khakan of China on the east as it was of the Greek Ionian colonies which hung like limpets on the western frontier. The wars of Iran, described in the *Shah Namah*, had to do with Turan as well as with Rum.[1] Alexander's wedge into Asia, again, — to many a mere gesture in the unrecording air, — had consequences for China and the extremest East as well as for Persia and India. Till all this is clear to the student much of the historian's work must necessarily be vain, though historians are sometimes themselves to blame for imposing unreal limits. Ere the end of the period we see two mighty empires, Rome and China, meeting not very far from the Caspian, with consequences which send their vibrations all the way from the Pacific to the Atlantic. Parallel with this juxtaposition of material imperialisms we see two great religions, Buddhism and Christianity, sending their respective gospels east and west, from land to land, with a success no historian may ignore.

In this chapter we do no more than suggest the separate developments which may not be left out of consideration by anyone desirous of appreciating the significance of modern conditions in the East.

Starting from the west, it is necessary first to consider those two centuries of Achæmenian rule from the capture of Babylon by Cyrus in 539 B.C. to the collapse of the third Darius on the field of Arbela in 331. The period is of vast importance both for Asia and for Europe. On the death of Cambyses, the successor of Cyrus and the conqueror of Egypt, the Achæmenian

[1] "Rum" is the name under which all the West was known to the Orient. The term includes any territory which was traditionally part of the Roman Empire.

line nearly experienced disaster. It was due to the skill and personality of Darius Hystaspes that the insurrection of Gomâta, the pseudo-Smerdis, and other similar rebellions were quelled. Darius, elected in the emergency following the death of Cambyses by hippomancy,[1] soon justified the choice, by whatever means obtained, and imposed upon his time belief in his right royal claim to rule. His real right was that of superb fitness. Under his wise and energetic sway the empire flourished from India to the Hellespont, though the Ionian colonies still made the coast of Asia Minor more Greek than Persian. Roads throughout the empire were good, and travel along them was speedy and safe. Swift couriers carried the posts, with relays of men and horses at stated intervals. Though later on the satrapies were as loosely linked together as the provinces of the Ottoman Empire, yet during the reign of Darius, and for some time after, the Persian dominions were exceedingly well knit together. After the initial rebellions had been suppressed, there seems to have been little disaffection, and the subject peoples, such as the Jews, had little to complain of. Darius has left his record on the great Rock of Behistun,[2] which was copied and deciphered by Sir Henry Rawlinson in 1844. But one intended record was missing to the end, namely, the story of conquered Greece. Darius indeed invaded Macedonia, but the decisive battle of Marathon made the conquest void. Ten years later Xerxes suffered yet more terrible defeats than his father in the battles of Salamis and Platæa. The Persian effort to establish a scientific frontier by pushing back the Greek colonies to Europe failed. Yet the Greeks of Asia Minor rendered on occasion distinguished service to the " King of Kings," and his armies were generally stiffened by the presence of Hellenic mercenaries.

Persia in its turn rendered service to humanity. It was under Cyrus that a spiritually minded minority of the Jewish captives left the valley of the Euphrates to essay the task of

[1] Hippomancy is divination by the neighing of a horse.
[2] The Persian Bagistanon; that is, the abode of the gods.

rebuilding their city and temple.[1] Plans for reconstruction, after an ecclesiastical order, had already been prepared by the prophet Ezekiel and others in Babylon; but it was left to an unknown prophet, the so-called second Isaiah, to be the herald voice [2] which heartened the captives to return. Back in Palestine the work of reconstruction lagged sorely, and the names of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, and the reformers Ezra and Nehemiah are conspicuous among those who labored to rally the people to the work. Judaism was restored a church rather than a nation; the priest was the spokesman rather than the prophet; and the Law secured the people from any further lapse into idolatry. This Judaism, colored not a little in certain directions by Persian beliefs, yet with a priestly and sacrificial system all its own, marks another important stage in the history of religion.

An episode of the Achæmenian period, big with future consequence, was the famous march of the Ten Thousand[3] from Babylon to the Black Sea. The Ten Thousand were Greek mercenaries under the command of Xenophon, who had taken sides with Cyrus the Younger against his brother Artaxerxes. Cyrus died, so their assistance was useless; but the return march proved to the Greeks how easily a small, well-disciplined force might defeat the huge but unwieldy hordes of the Persian satraps. Thus were sown the seeds which a century later had so significant a harvest in the expedition of Alexander the Great.

In speaking of the Achæmenians, one must not omit reference to their place in the history of India. To the general reader the tale of India in the seventh century B.C. and the two or three centuries which succeeded seems the story of a closed historical pocket. The Brahman ritualized the *Veda* till he had transformed it from the spontaneous poetry of the earlier time into a mass of complicated ceremonial, entombed in treatises called *Brahmanas*. But this devotion to the gospel of works produced on the part of certain classes a reaction in the direction of specu-

[1] See Ezra I. [2] See Isaiah XL and following chapters.
[3] See the *Anabasis* of Xenophon.

lation. Men resolved to save themselves by thinking things out, instead of by doing things. So we have the remarkable philosophical writings known as *Upanishads*, and out of these were deduced what are called the Six Orthodox Schools.[1] The orthodoxy is not very obvious, except in the fact that all yield lip-service to the *Veda;* the orthodox philosopher might be theist or atheist, pantheist or polytheist. But some more daring souls went in for heresy, which consisted in rejecting the *Veda* and in disregarding caste. Two of these heresies have survived. One of them, Jainism,[2] exists only in India and numbers only a million and a half believers. The other, Buddhism, became a world religion, though it eventually lost its place in India. The story of the rise of Buddhism cannot be separated from the history of Asia, for the spread of this faith is one of the unifying facts in the story of the continent.

The connection with the Achæmenian rulers is in the fact that some have seen in Buddhism an illustration of Persian influence upon India. Mr. D. B. Spooner[3] probably overstates the inferences to be drawn from the discovery of ruined palaces at Patna, built after the pattern of the palaces of Persepolis, but there can be little doubt that the dominion of Darius Hystaspes in India was by no means a myth. The adventure of his Greek admiral Skylax is certainly not the solitary instance of his interest in the peninsula. Whether, however, this interest extended to the introduction of religious ideas must be regarded as exceedingly doubtful.

Buddhism owes its success to several causes. There was, of course, the appeal made to the heart of caste-ridden India by the throwing open of the new society to all, without distinction. It was the catholic note in religion, sounded for the first time, as from a great bell suspended from the sky. But beyond even this was the gracious and lovable personality of Gautama, its founder.

Prince Siddhartha, known also — from his family name —

[1] For the Six Orthodox Schools, see Monier Williams, *Hinduism*, Appendix, p. 187.
[2] See *The Heart of Jainism*, Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson.
[3] See "The Zoroastrian Period in Indian History," *Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, 1915.

as Gautama, was the son of a petty rajah in the north of India, on the borders of the territory which is now called Nepal. He was born about the middle of the sixth century B.C., near Kapilavastu, his father's capital. Among the many traditions of his early life which are probably true are those which tell of his marriage to Yasodhara and the birth of a son. Then came a period of doubt, aroused, it is said, by the fourfold spectacle of age, sickness, death, and the ascetic life.[1] The prince pondered over these things till he made what is called the Great Renunciation, leaving his family and his possessions, in order to attach himself to a company of Benares ascetics. This experience yielded no satisfaction to his troubled spirit, so he separated himself and took up his position beneath the Bo-tree.[2] Here he endured all the temptations of the Evil One, but at length found peace in the acceptance of the Four Noble Truths. These, which constitute what might be termed the creed of Buddhism, are as follows: the truth that life is sorrow; the truth that sorrow comes from desire; the truth that sorrow can be extinguished only in Nirvana;[3] and the truth as to the Noble Eightfold Way[4] of Buddhist ethics. Gautama is now "the Buddha," the Enlightened One. He spent the rest of his life in the preaching of his doctrine and the gathering together of disciples. Among these he passed away peacefully about 487 B.C. By that time Buddhism was already a system: Buddha, the Teacher; Dharma, the Law; and Sangha, the Society. To these "Three Precious Ones" the devout Buddhist commits his soul and attains to peace.

While the religion of Gautama was slowly making its way in the north of India, another influence of a very different kind was finding an entrance. This was the invasion of Alexander, "the he-goat of the North,"[5] an event destined to breed

[1] See Sir Edwin Arnold's poetical version in *The Light of Asia*, Book III.

[2] The *Ficus Indica*.

[3] Nirvana is not extinction, but cessation of the consciousness of individuality.

[4] The Eightfold Way consists of right belief, right resolve, right speech, right behavior, right occupation, right effort, right contemplation, and right concentration.

[5] See Daniel VIII, 21.

consequences which are by no means exhausted even at the present day. Alexander is both European and Asiatic, at once the son of Philip of Macedon and the Iskander who, in the popular tradition of the Orient, is the accepted heir of Darius Codomannus. Alexander's invasion was not — nor was it intended to be — a mere raid. Though the facilities for conquest were in part provided by the treason of Persians and Indians, the directive genius of Aristotle's wonderful pupil is ever in evidence. The conquest of Persia was the more permanent achievement. The whole campaign, conducted with almost miraculous strategy from Granicus and Issus to the crowning stroke at Arbela, was planned to this end. In preparing the way for the rule of the Seleucids, preparation was also made for the Roman administration which superseded it and was modeled upon it. Yet, even if an afterthought, the invasion and temporary occupation of Northwest India was an epoch-making event. When entrance to the land of the fabled Bacchus was unbarred by the treachery of Takshasila's rajah, Alexander's ambition was stimulated to attempt an achievement much beyond what his fates permitted. The various Alexandrias founded along the path of victory — Alexandria of the Arachosians, Alexandria of the Caucasus, and so on — were intended to be memorials of empire as permanent as the great city on the Nile delta. The lines of Matthew Arnold which declare:

> The East bow'd low before the blast,
> In patient, deep disdain;
> She let the legions thunder past,
> Then plunged in thought again,[1]

are certainly not applicable to the magnificent campaign which let in the light of the West upon the East and made Asia forever the debtor of Europe. One has only to reflect upon the many elements of Western culture in government and administration, in art and science, to be convinced of the far-reaching results of that sudden spear-thrust given by the Macedonian to

[1] Matthew Arnold, "Obermann Once More."

Asia in general. Cæsar exclaimed to the timid boatman, "Thou carriest Cæsar and his fortunes!" But what are we to think of the fateful future entrusted to the boat in which Alexander himself, the regent Perdiccas, Ptolemy, the future governor of Egypt, Seleucus, the future governor of the East, and Lysimachus, the future governor of Thrace, all together crossed the Indian river just before engaging the Paurava king?[1] Never were East and West more dramatically juxtaposed than when Alexander, in cavalry cloak, broad-brimmed hat, and top-boots, was asked by the naked ascetic of India to strip and sit beside him on the heated stones, to learn a wisdom beyond anything Aristotle was able to impart.

This episode of Alexander has been dwelt upon at some length because we have no better illustration in ancient times of the way in which great personality affected history on almost a universal scale.

The break-up of Alexander's dominion after his early death presently left a large part of Western Asia under Seleucus Nicator and his successors. During this period all these lands were "Greek in speech and mind." Hellenism seemed easily victorious everywhere. The one exception was Palestine, where Antiochus Epiphanes, at the tail-end of the Seleucid line, overzealous for Hellenization, pushed the Jews, about 168 B.C., into almost fanatical revolt under Judas Maccabæus and his heroic brothers.[2] This revolt, moreover, had important consequences. It developed an apocalyptic expectation of the Messianic rule, contrasting the doomed brute-power of the world empires with the benign kingdom of the Son of Man.[3] Life too began to be viewed in a larger way, since poetic justice demanded for the martyrs of faith the reward of a better world beyond the grave, and corresponding retribution for their oppressors.

[1] Poros, probably a descendant of the Puru clan.

[2] See the Second Book of the Maccabees, in the *Apocrypha*.

[3] For the use of the term "Son of Man," see Daniel VII, 13, and in the Synoptic Gospels, *passim*.

Greek influences long remained in Western Asia, including the Euphrates, Persia, Parthia, and Bactria. Even after the Seleucid rule had given place to Parthian ascendency, the language, religion, and culture of Greece still held sway in the East. In India the consequences of Alexander's invasion were less direct. A camp-follower in the army of Alexander, an Indian named Chandragupta, soon succeeded in throwing off the yoke of Seleucus and in establishing a native dynasty which he called the Mauryan. This important line lasted from the signing of the treaty with Seleucus in 303 B.C. to the murder of the last Mauryan in 184 B.C. The great incident of this epoch, of full Asiatic significance, is the conversion of the third Mauryan emperor, Açoka, to Buddhism. Açoka became "the Constantine of Buddhism" and more, for he was missionary as well as patron. The story of his propaganda by means of the rock inscriptions and the pillar edicts, and of his extension of the faith beyond the borders of India, is familiar to all students of Buddhism. It was in this reign that Ceylon, formerly the fabled demon-infested land of Lanka, became the scene of peaceful evangelism. The missionary was no other than Açoka's son, Mahendra, who established the first monasteries and planted the offshoot of the original Bo-tree, which remains to-day one of the world's oldest historical trees. Two general councils of the Buddhist community had already been held, at Râjagriha and at Vaisâli, and a third council assembled at Açoka's capital, Pataliputra, now Patna, about 250 B.C. At this council the rift between conservatives and liberals was seen to be plainly widening. Afterward it widened further into the two great schools of Hinayana, "the Little Way," and Mahayana, "the Great Way." The Mauryan dynasty expired, as we have already noted, in 184 B.C. So far as Northwest India is concerned, there followed a series of semiforeign dynasties. Their sequence helps us to realize the seething movement of peoples which, commencing in Central Asia, was affecting all Asia, East and West alike.

Invisible to the historian, yet tremendously potent, are the

Hunnish hordes who compelled the building of the great Chinese Wall as a defensive rampart. In the foreground, and first of the semiforeign dynasties of India, we have the Indo-Bactrian line, represented in the story of the invasion of Menander, or Milinda,[1] the last European to make assault on India till A.D. 1502. Soon after come the Indo-Parthians, represented by Gondophorus,[2] who was traditionally the host both of the Christian apostle Saint Thomas and of the Chinese emissaries who came from Ming Ti to learn the religion of the Buddha. After these follows the empire of the Indo-Scythians, in which Kanishka shines with a double radiance. He was first of all famous as another Açoka, patron of Buddhism and builder of stupas.[3] He was also the illustrious middleman in the trade between China and the Roman Empire. He it was who took charge of the silk and the pig iron which came by the old trade-routes through Asia, and saw to their transshipment for the markets of the Mediterranean. His coins, it is said, have been found as far west as Wales. But Kanishka's subjects were made disaffected by what they thought his overweening ambition. "Such being the case, we must get rid of him. . . . As he was ill, they covered him with a quilt, a man sat on top of him, and the king died on the spot." [4]

But we have a little outrun our period in the West, and must redress the balance by a brief survey of events in the further East. We left China in what has generally — perhaps erroneously — been known as the feudal period. At any rate it was a period of decentralization. The rapid expansion of the empire had left the central government unable to adjust itself to its enlarged responsibilities. The result was that semi-independent states, in number all the way from a thousand to — at the latest period — four or five, grew up and lessened the

[1] Supposed author of a Buddhist work, *The Questions of Milinda.*

[2] Or Gondopharnes.

[3] A "stupa" or "tope" was a temple or tower built primarily to enshrine a Buddhist relic.

[4] See *History of India* by Vincent Smith, vol. II, p. 239.

importance of the emperors. The general system of administration remained that of the *Chou Li*,[1] the Book of Ceremonies ascribed to the famous Duke of Chou, of the eleventh century B.C. Under this system affairs were managed by six Cabinet departments known as the Six Boards. There was the Board of Heaven for the affairs of the Emperor; the Board of Earth for the affairs of the people; the Board of Spring for rites and ceremonies; the Board of Summer for war; the Board of Autumn for punishments; and the Board of Winter for public works. The empire generally, however, was held together from below rather than from above. "The Hundred Surnames"[2] formed one great patriarchal society, united by adhesion to the doctrine of the Five Relations. These were the relation of subject to ruler, of son to father, of wife to husband, of younger brother to elder brother, and of friend to friend. The trade-guilds also had a remarkable degree of authority over their members, while the mandarinate,[3] as an aristocracy of letters, kept the administration largely in the hands of the scholarly class.

The Chinese tradition was a thoroughly democratic one. No invidious bar of birth kept the lowliest from supreme place in the empire. Emperors were raised to the Dragon Throne from every kind of obscurity. They were also quite frequently rebuked, and sometimes deposed, for offenses against the rights of the people, as for instance, by riding through the standing crops of their subjects. The right of revolution was recognized by the political economists, and it was a saying of Mencius that of the three things, gods, emperors, and people, the last-named was the most important.

On the whole there was a very distinct weakening of imperial authority during the last centuries of the Chou dynasty, partly due, as we have said, to the rapid spread of the Chinese people

[1] For an account of the *Chou Li*, see Hirth, *Ancient History of China*, pp. 127 *ff.*

[2] A designation of the Chinese people.

[3] The word "mandarin" is derived either from the Portuguese *mandare* (to command), or, more probably, from the Sanskrit *mantrin*, a counsellor.

eastward and southward, and partly to the pressure of the Huns on the northern and western frontiers. It was this pressure which compelled a change of capital eastward midway during the dynasty. It led also to the building of the Great Wall by the first emperor of the Ch'in dynasty, to whom we shall presently refer.

Ere going further we must recall that the history of China is especially illustrious, during the latter half of the Chou dynasty, for the great sages. Their influence is still so much alive, in spite of all modernizing movements, that we must not fail to stress their importance, though we can do them but scant justice in a paragraph.

Confucius — the Latinized form of K'ung Fu Tzŭ, that is, Master Kung, the Philosopher — is in many respects the most influential personality China has produced, perhaps even more through his correspondence with what China has regarded as the human norm than because of his intrinsic greatness. In our own day attacks have been made upon Confucius, both by the less intelligent type of missionary and by the more radical wing of modern students. Yet, whether considered as teacher, reformer, compiler of literature, or simply as a human being, Confucius remains a personage to be reckoned with. Though by no means China's last word in religion or in politics, China will do well to keep Confucius secure upon his pedestal.

The Sage of the family of Kung in the state of Lu, he was born about 551 B.C. in the present province of Shantung. His father died while he was in his third year, so the young child's education devolved upon the widowed mother, who discharged her responsibility with devotion and success. At the age of seventeen Confucius was far enough advanced to begin a public career in connection with the Imperial grain-stores. At nineteen he married, and a son was born, to whom the name Li (carp) was given in allusion to the fish presented on the occasion by the Duke of Lu.[1] The relation of Confucius to his own

[1] The carp, on account of its ability to fight its way upstream, is the regular Chinese symbol for boyhood.

family does not seem to have been affectionate, and it is generally supposed that the wife was divorced. The career of the Sage may be conveniently studied under three heads. As reformer he was resorted to quite frequently for the purpose of straightening out the corrupt administration of this or that state. In this work he was probably too much of a doctrinaire to be completely successful; at any rate, the states got tired of his earnestness, and Confucius at the end of his life felt he had been a failure. He died about 479 B.C., crooning during his last days the lines:

> "The great mountain must crumble;
> The strong beam must break;
> The wise man must wither like a plant."

As a teacher Confucius was much more successful. His system was severe, for, as he said, if he took the trouble to lift one corner of a subject, he expected his pupils to raise the other three of themselves. The disciples were evidently very fond of him, and have given us a close-up picture of the master in the *Analects*. "When he entered the palace gate, it was with the body somewhat bent forward, almost as though he could not be admitted. . . . He would use no purple or violet colors for the facings of his dress. Nor would he have red or orange color for his undress. . . . As to his food, he never tired of rice so long as it was clean and pure. . . . He would not eat anything that was not properly cut, or that lacked its proper seasonings. . . . Ginger he would never have removed from the table during a meal. . . . He would not sit on a mat that was not straight," and so on.[1]

Most influential of all was Confucius as a compiler — or, to use his own word, a transmitter — of the ancient literature of China. The preservation of the Nine Classics is due to the diligence of the Sage and his disciples. The first volume of these, known as the *Five Ching*, consists of the Book of History, the Book of Odes, the Book of Changes, the Book of Ceremony,

[1] From the *Lun Yü*, or *Analects*, Book X.

CONFUCIUS

MENCIUS

and the Spring and Autumn Annals.[1] The second volume of the collection, known as the *Four Shu*, embraces *The Great Learning*, *The Doctrine of the Mean*, the *Analects* and the four books of Mencius.[2] These continued for many centuries to be the foundation of all education and official training.

Mencius, or Mêng Tzŭ, is almost as deserving of commemoration as his master. Born about a century and a half later than Confucius, he too was educated by his mother. The mother of Mêng is one of China's heroines. She changed her residence repeatedly, for fear that her son might be contaminated by the neighborhood of a cemetery, a slaughterhouse, and a market. Finally, in the environment of a school she felt herself and her son secure. Mencius lived to the year 289 B.C. and was ninety-four when he was laid to rest beside his mother. He taught a political economy which is well worth study at the present day. He was a confirmed pacifist, and did much to combat the then prevalent militarism. It is largely due to the loyalty of Mencius that the reputation of Confucius and of his doctrines continued to increase. With the exception of the Ch'ins, every fresh dynasty sought to add prestige to the system which had been promulgated with so much devotion.

The defects of Confucianism are fairly obvious, mainly due to its legalism and externality. But it is a good deal to the credit of China that she has consistently, through the Sage's influence, placed education and public life on a moral foundation. On this foundation she has taught compliance with the way of Heaven, and she has built up an empire upon the recognition of social obligations to the living and the dead.

Contemporary with Confucius — though born a few years earlier, in 604 B.C. — we have Lao Tzŭ,[3] a somewhat mysterious, to some even a mythical, figure. Yet his philosophy is at

[1] The *Five Ching* are called, in the Chinese, the *Shu Ching*, the *Shih Ching*, the *Yi Ching*, the *Li Chi*, and the *Chun Ts'iu*.

[2] The *Four Shu* are called, in the Chinese, the *Ta Hsiao*, the *Chung Yung*, the *Lun Yü*, and the books of Mêng.

[3] Or "the old philosopher."

once definite and complementary to that of Confucius. Where Confucius was concerned with the observance of a meticulous legalism, Lao Tzŭ was insistent solely upon a right relation to the Tao, or Way.[1] The word is variously translated, but what is meant is doubtless the law of the universe, to which if a man harnesses himself, he thereby and without difficulty lives virtuously. Lao Tzŭ protested against the bondage of Confucius to the law. "You cannot," he said, "turn a crow into a pigeon by painting it white." Nevertheless, Lao Tzŭ had an ethics in no way inferior to that of his rival. His are such sayings as the following:

Keep behind and you shall be put in front. Keep out and you shall be put in.
Mighty is he who conquers himself.
He who is conscious of being strong is content to be weak.
He who is content has enough.
To the good I would be good. To the not-good also I would be good, in order to make them good.
Recompense injury with kindness.[2]

And one of his disciples, the charming mystic and philosopher, Chwang Tzŭ, expressed the finest thought of China when he said:

The command of armies is the lowest kind of virtue. Rewards and punishments are the lowest form of education. Ceremonies and laws are the lowest form of government. Music and fine clothes are the lowest form of happiness. Wailing and mourning are the lowest form of grief. These five should follow the movements of the mind.[3]

Unfortunately, it must be confessed, Taoism, as the system of Lao Tzŭ was called, rapidly degenerated from the promise of the best to the realization of the worst. Its doctrine of mysticism was corrupted into the search for the philosopher's

[1] General Alexander translates *Tao* as "God."
[2] From the Taoist Classic, *Tao Têh Ching* (The Classic of the Way of Virtue).
[3] Legge, *The Texts of Taoism*, Part I, pp. 334–5.

THE GREAT FIRST EMPEROR ON HIS WAY TO CONSULT THE TAOISTS

stone and the elixir of life, and later on it became still further degraded into the charlatanry of present-day magic.

It was when the Chou dynasty gave way in 240 B.C. to the Great First Emperor of the Ch'in dynasty, who took advantage of the discord of the states to make himself the sole ruler, that Taoism enjoyed the imperial patronage. As builder of the Wall,[1] road-maker, and consolidator of his vast dominion, Ch'in Shih Huang Ti deserves recognition. But his support of Taoism, involving the persecution of the Confucian literati and the burning of the Books, and more especially his devotion to war, have rendered him abhorrent in Chinese eyes. The Chinese have heaped upon him the names of bastard, pigeon-breast, wolf-voice, tiger-heart, and the like, and still spit upon his desecrated grave. The splendid palace of ten thousand rooms, which he built that he might change his sleeping-place from night to night, was no more secure in life than the wonderful mausoleum, which was profaned almost as soon as the dead monarch was laid within its vault. The end of the Ch'in dynasty practically coincided with the close of the first Emperor's life, and the Han dynasty went on with the checkered story of the Middle Kingdom.

Since modern Chinese, especially in the south, still call themselves "sons of Han," it is only fair to say something with regard to this line. It was during this dynasty indeed that we have three events of the first importance. The first is the revival of learning, due to the reaction from the policy of the Ch'ins, to the invention of paper[2] and of the hair brush,[3] as also to the expansion of the Empire to the west. This revival gave China its second, or flowering, period of poetry, its first lexicography,[4] and several of its best historians.[5] The second notable event is the extension of Chinese sovereignty westward

[1] See Geil, *The Great Wall of China*.

[2] In the second century B.C.

[3] By the general in command at the building of the Great Wall.

[4] The oldest Chinese lexicon, the *Shuo Wên*, belongs to this period.

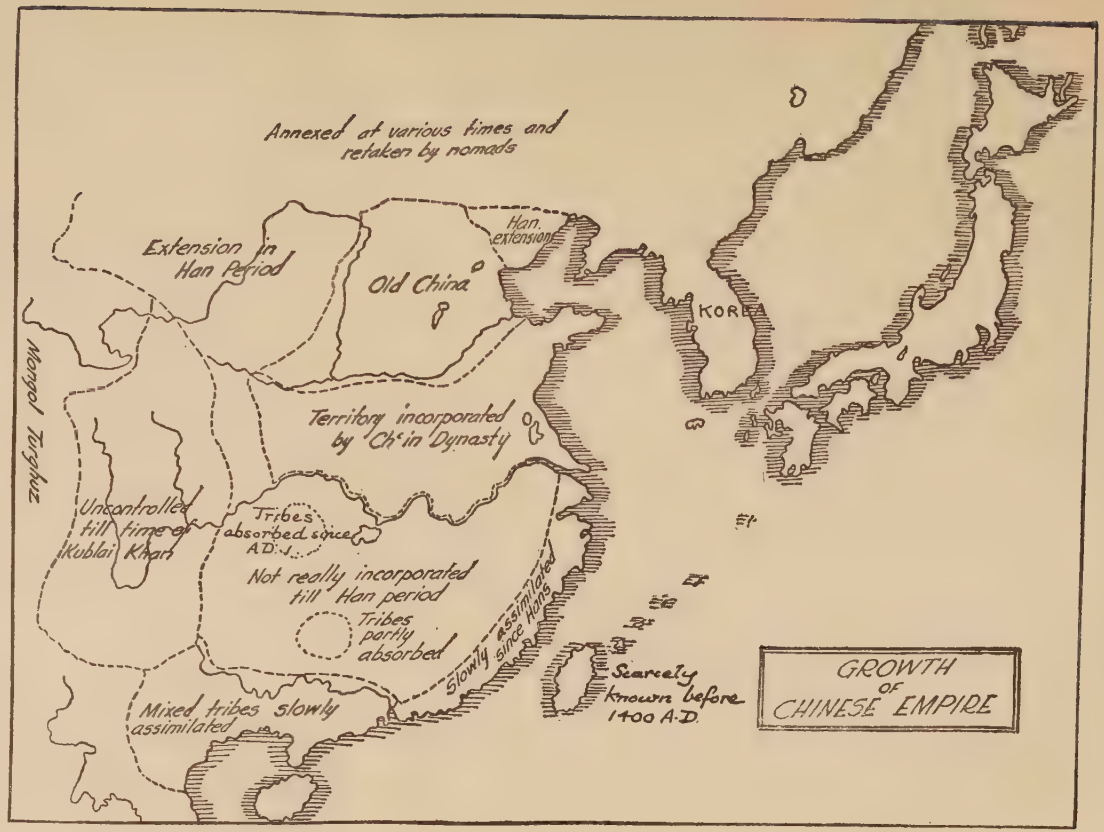
[5] Including the greatest of the early historians, Ssu-ma Ch'ien, admirably translated by Chavannes.

to the confines of the Roman Empire. From the Europo-centric point of view we are accustomed to associate the beginnings of the Christian era with the eastward expansion of Rome. Having taken some centuries to conquer the Italian peninsula, Rome was using her troops, seasoned by war and inspired by traditions of victory, to push out her dominion over Europe, Northern Africa, and Western Asia. But we have been for the most part blind to the fact that when the eagle standards perched after their most breathless eastward flights they found themselves face to face with the dragon banners of imperial China. The great "wardens of the marches" not only succeeded in stemming the tide of barbarism which had menaced the borders, but succeeded in carrying the law of the Son of Heaven far toward the Caspian. Patiently pushing from oasis to oasis, making trenches across the desert, some of which still survive, building wall beyond wall against attack, guarding these vigilantly with beacon-flares and watchdogs, as well as with their own valiant bodies, homesick for the land of Han and yet enduring exile year after year at the imperial will — these soldiers made secure for generations the frontiers of the East. Dr. Stein quotes from a poem of the time the lines, as vivid a piece of history as we may anywhere find:

Every ten li a horse starts;
Every five li a whip is raised high;
A military order of the Proctector-general of the Trans-frontier region has arrived
With news that the Huns were besieging Chiu Chuan;
But just then the snowflakes were falling on the hills
Along which the barrier stretches,
And the signal fires could raise no smoke.[1]

Our third event is the introduction of Buddhism, which was doubtless in some degree the result of this westward expansion. The new religion may very well have come in with the returning soldiers. The common tradition, however, gives the story of the dream of Ming Ti, in 64 A.D. The Chinese monarch dreamed

[1] See Stein, *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, vol. I, p. 387; vol. II, pp. 108, 111, 149, 153.


Annexed at various times and retaken by nomads
Extension in Han Period
Old China
Han extension
KOREA
Mongol Turghuz
Territory incorporated by Ch'in Dynasty
Uncontrolled till time of Kublai Khan
Tribes absorbed since A.D. 1
Not really incorporated till Han period
Tribes partly absorbed
Slowly assimilated since Hans
Mixed tribes slowly assimilated
Scarcely known before 1400 A.D.
GROWTH OF CHINESE EMPIRE

of a golden image, a figure with two arrows in its hand, standing in his palace court. His soothsayers interpreted this as the intimation that a great personality had been born in the West, to whom the Emperor should send an embassy. The ambassadors, as we have already mentioned, reached the court of the Indo-Scythian king, Gondophorus. There they received the sutras and the images which they bore back upon a white packhorse, to lay the foundations of the faith in China at the Temple of the White Horse.

The religion was not at first very popular, since it seemed to conflict with Chinese ideas of family and official life; but it soon adjusted itself, and in course of time wrought revolutionary changes. The land which had suffered from the iconoclasm of the Burner of the Books gained from Buddhism a new enthusiasm for art and literature, as well as a new sense of religious values, such as in course of time was destined to be transmitted still further afield.

Behind the facts which we have mentioned, and others which we have no space even to allude to, we may recall three lines of interrelation, without an appreciation of which the succeeding history loses much of its meaning.

(*a*) The interrelation of the world of commerce. A great deal of the romance of history is connected with road-making, but nowhere more so than in connection with the great land-routes which stretched from the old capital of China by way of Central Asia, passing thence through two or three separate linkings, to find access to the Roman markets. Chief among these was the road which, after passing through the Tarim Valley, threaded the passes of the Hindu Kush, passed down the Indus, and thence yielded its treasures to the ships. These made their goal that Red Sea port which Ptolemy Philadelphus had called Bernice, after his sister — fated, alas, to provide us with the name for a prosaic commodity, varnish. By this route Rome was able to get her bales of silk, and the Roman schoolboy became *doctus sagittas tendere Sericas arcu*

paterno.[1] Of course the trade was not with China alone; India had its share. We find Pliny deploring the depleting of the Empire of its silver and gold, since "never less than fifty-two million sesterces"[2] were sent thither annually. It is hard for us to put ourselves into this old world of intermingling elements, a world of busy, striving, scheming men who thought in terms of China, India, Alexandria, and Rome, and who, while carrying their silk and pig iron and spices westward, were already planning to carry back Greek patterns for the silk-weavers of the Middle Kingdom.

(*b*) The interrelation of the world of culture. On certain points debate may arise as to how far the indebtedness of one land to another was direct or indirect. But water may pass from pit to pit by penetration of the soil as well as through being poured out from a bucket. This is probably true of such influence as we see upon the development of the Oriental drama. Professor Sylvain Levi informs the writer that he finds no actual proof of the influence of the West upon the East in this instance. Yet the drama of Greece and Rome almost certainly did affect that of India through the intermediary of the Bactrian and Parthian courts. One cannot but be impressed with what took place at Seleucia when the news arrived of the death of Crassus. On that day the great king, Orodes, was witnessing in the theatre a performance of the *Bacchæ* of Euripides. In rushed a messenger from the battlefield, bearing the head of the Roman general. He flung the ghastly trophy into the midst, and instantly the actor Jason seized the skull and sang aloud, with a wild, Bacchantic dance, lines from the play in harmony with the fierce emotions of the moment.

As to pictorial art, the evidence of direct transmission is more unmistakable. It is only necessary to mention here the art of Gandharva, which, as Cordier says, "allies in the happiest fashion the technique of the Greek to the legend of the Buddha." We cannot mistake, moreover, the little tricks of manner which show the influence of the West in the fold of the

[1] Horace, *Odes*, I, 29. [2] Pliny the Elder, XII, 84.

robes or the position of the left hand in the statues, or in the occurrence of a Greek name upon this or some other form of art. The Greek artist's signature on the precious box of silver filigree work which enshrines the ashes of the Buddha is full of significance for our story. These are but straws upon the great tide of Asiatic culture at this particular epoch, whose drift is not to be misinterpreted.

(*c*) The interrelations of religion. This is perhaps the most significant of all. Two great historical religions were at the same time pushing their victorious way across the lands. Both were of Asiatic origin. One, Christianity, rooted not only in the Judaism of its time but in all past religious emotions and experiences, goes forth to satisfy "the desire of all nations" in the conquest of the West. The life of the Founder, though circumscribed by narrow limitations of time and place, achieves universality and immortality such as shall vitalize society for all generations to come. Inspired by this life, the Apostles push out on every side with their proclamation of good tidings to mankind. The burning zeal of one of these, the converted Pharisee, Paul of Tarsus, carries the Gospel along the great highways of Asia Minor till his influence becomes coterminous with the Empire itself. Others, more obscure, carry fertilizing seeds into many lands, not excluding the countries of the East. We have already ventured the suggestion that Thomas the Apostle may very well have met face to face the ambassadors of Ming Ti in India.

The other religion, Buddhism, was at the same time winning its way southward, northward, and eastward. The movement through Central Asia in the first and succeeding centuries of the Christian era is the most important of all. It is the movement of a Buddhism much modified by its religious and cultural contacts. The atheism of Indian Buddhism has been superseded by the theism and polytheism of the converted lands. The believer now finds salvation not in his own right comprehension, but in the compassion of the future Buddhas. The nihilism of Nirvana is replaced with the conception of the

Western Paradise. Lastly, it is no longer best to become speedily absorbed in the Absolute as an arhat (saint); it is better to be reborn to service as a Buddha.

It is surely something to feel as we close this chapter that neither the Europe nor the Asia of the first century was a world ruled altogether by the dominion of material force. If in Europe the brute force of the Roman Empire found itself challenged by a new conception of society which might be compared to a city coming down out of the heavens, so also the Chinese Empire is seen to be governed by something more than the military genius of Ch'n Shih Huang Ti or Wu Ti.[1] There is a widespread desire to convert men to a belief in the spirit of compassion, and of brotherhood, and of weaning a weary world from sin and discord to the teachings of the Buddha. Over all Asia, it is true, there is much of barbarism, much of conflict, much of social struggle. Nevertheless, idealism is not without its victories, as it assuredly is not without its visions.

[1] The great warrior-emperor of the Han dynasty, 140–87 B.C.

CHAPTER IV

ASIA TO THE RISE OF ISLAM

Many historians have professed to find something rhythmical in the succession of the centuries. Age follows age till one seems to become climacteric. This last is like the wave that Merlin saw, which, "gathering half the deep, and full of voices, slowly rose and plunged, roaring." If such a theory have anything in it, the really important centuries in our own era would seem to be the first, fourth, seventh, tenth, thirteenth, sixteenth, and nineteenth. Crests of historical movement are certainly discernible in these particular periods. In any case, the seventh century, which we shall regard as our climacteric in the present chapter, has an importance all its own, if only because of the event in which the period culminates — the rise of Islam.

At no epoch of history are we able to make a better cross-section of the story of Europe and Asia in order to show the interrelation of events and the connection of these events with certain outstanding personalities. If we can conceive of the Euro-Asiatic continent under the figure of a taut string, held fast at either end, it will be plain that any impact here or there must communicate itself in vibrations all along the line. In the period we are about to consider, the impact which starts the fateful twanging is somewhere near the centre of the string. It is the impact of a great personality upon the peninsula of Arabia.

We shall have a good deal to say presently with regard to the vibrations which resulted from the appearance of Muhammad.

First, however, it is necessary to make some brief survey of those portions of the Asiatic continent most remote from the scene of the Islamic irruption.

Off the extreme western shores of Europe there lay a group of islands which in the first century of our era had scarcely been discovered by the spotlight of history. Similarly, off the eastern coast of Asia there lay an archipelago, strung out over many degrees of latitude, and forming a kind of bow between Kamchatka and the southeastern coast of China. The story of the two island groups shows some singular parallelisms. Yet, in the case of Britain, there is nothing to correspond with the bizarre and romantic myths which represent the islands of Japan as congealed drops which fell from the spear-point of the creator-god, Izanagi,[1] when he plunged his weapon into the waters of the Pacific. The ancient Britons nevertheless may represent the aboriginal Ainus, the hairy barbarians of whom we have already spoken. As for the Angles, Jutes, and Saxons who invaded the land of the Britons from the Baltic shores, they correspond well enough with the Sushen, Kumaso, and Yamato invaders of Japan, though these latter came of a more varied stock. The supposed welding of the different elements is marked by the accession of the first Emperor, Jimmu Tennō,[2] February 11, 660 B.C., the date accepted for the birthday of the Japanese Empire. The date is an artificial one, attained simply by prefixing a Chinese Great Cycle of 1260 years to the first true calendric date, 600 A.D. This was done to find place for the many picturesque legends which must otherwise have been dateless. We have no space to speak of these, but the student will doubtless find pleasure in looking them up for himself. The stories of Jimmu Tennō and the sun-crow,[3] messenger of his divine ancestress, the sun-goddess; of Sujin, the tenth Emperor, known as the Great Civilizer, who first

[1] Izanagi, the Japanese sky-god, with Izanami, the earth-goddess, are the parents of the other Japanese kami, or gods.

[2] Jimmu Tennō is the canonical name given to the Prince Iware after death.

[3] The Three-legged Crow is a solar symbol. *Cf.* the three legs on the coat-of-arms of the Isle of Man.

established a system of taxation based upon the arrow-notches of the men and the finger-tips of the women;[1] of Suinin, who tried to abolish the custom of retainers following their lord in death[2] by being buried alive in a circle around his grave; of Prince Yamato Dake, who crossed the Bay of Yedo by the voluntary sacrifice of his wife, the beautiful Tachibana, and died fighting against the Ainus in the north; of the Empress Jingo, founder of the Japanese navy and reputed conqueror of Korea in the third century of our era; of her son Ojin, who became Hachiman, the war-god of Japan; and of Nintoku, the sage emperor, who remitted the taxes for three years and allowed his own palace to go to ruin, that the smoke of his subjects' grateful hearths might rise to heaven — all these are points of light in the darkness of over a millennium, which the ardor of a student's interest will seek to expand till they become one continuous narrative.

But we, for our part, must leave these and others like them behind their veil of mist, and announce that the real beginnings of Japanese history, as distinguished from legend, coincide with the introduction of Buddhism about 552 A.D. The story of this introduction is an interesting one and closely parallel in many of its features with the coming of Augustine and his monks to the court of Ethelbert of Kent in 597 A.D. The Japanese monarch, like Ethelbert, was wary of witchcraft, so he entrusted the experimentation with Buddhism to one clan, that of the Sogas, who were officially concerned with immigrants from foreign lands. After some vicissitudes, in the course of which the images were more than once cast away into the river, the new faith had the great good fortune to gain the adherence of the famous prince, Shōtoku Taishi.[3] The Crown Prince had vowed his conversion conditionally upon gaining a victory over the rebel Morita. He placed the images of the

[1] That is, on the sewing done by the women.

[2] The custom is known as "junshi," and must be distinguished from the form of self-execution called "hara-kiri" — more properly, "seppuku."

[3] "Taishi" is a title meaning "crown prince."

four deva-kings [1] upon his helmet, and awaited the issue. The victory was vouchsafed, and so Shōtoku became the first royal patron of the religion of Shaka.[2] The result was much more than the addition of certain religious elements to the culture of Japan. It involved an enormous advance in art, which was stimulated by the making of pictures and images. It brought also advance in literature, since this was made possible by the introduction of the Chinese characters. It led also to considerable changes in the matter of political administration. The Seventeen Articles of Shōtoku Taishi — 604 A.D. — have been regarded as laying the foundations of Japanese constitutional history. Much more serious steps in the same direction were taken less than half a century later, namely, in 645, in the promulgation of the Taikwa code [3] and, in 697, of the Taihō code.[4] The Taikwa code, or the code of the Great Reform, was largely the work of the statesman Kamatari, acting in concert with Prince Naka, afterward the Emperor Tenchi. Prince and reformer were wont to meet for discussion in a certain wisteria grove, and this gave its name, Fujiwara,[5] to the illustrious family of which Kamatari is considered the founder.

It is apparent that much of the change which came over Japan in the course of this important seventh century is due to influences transmitted from China. We must ask, therefore, What of China during the first seven centuries of the Christian era? The larger part of these may be passed over lightly as centuries of anarchy; yet the centuries of anarchy were also centuries of romance. The most famous of all Chinese novels, *The Story of the Three Kingdoms*,[6] describes in picturesque

[1] The four deva-kings are the four Brahmanic gods, Varuna, Indra, Agni, and Yama, used as guardians of the "four quarters" before the Buddhist temples.

[2] Shaka is the Japanese name for the Buddha, derived from the term "Çakya Muni" — that is, the Sage of the Çakya clan.

[3] "Taikwa" means "Great Reform."

[4] "Taihō" means "Great Treasure" — the year-period named after the discovery of gold.

[5] "Fujiwara" means "wisteria." To this clan until recent times has been given the privilege of supplying the royal consorts.

[6] Ascribed to a writer of the thirteenth century.

detail the banditry and general lawlessness of the era so designated. It is the story of Liu Pei, who rose to imperial rank from the selling of straw mats and sandals; of Chu Ko-liang, who anticipated modern inventions in the making of "oxen of wood and mechanical horses"; of Doctor Hua, who anticipated modern surgery in his use of antiseptics and anæsthetics. It is the story of the famous warrior brothers of whom one became Kwan Ti, the Chinese god of war. Later on we have the story of the Sui line, with the outstanding figure of Yang Ti, builder of the Grand Canal, invader of Korea, codifier of laws, and patron of literature. Yet he earned infamy by using the forced labor of women upon his projects. His vanity was such that in winter he had silken leaves and flowers sewn upon the trees in his palace grounds, lest he should seem subject, like other men, to the laws of the seasons. His successor was a young prince who, when compelled to drink a poisoned cup presented by his minister, prayed that he might never be reborn an emperor.

The anarchy described above was due in part to the weakness of the contending dynasties, in part to the increasing menace of the Turkish tribes on the western frontier. By a curious reversal of the usual course of events, it was the timely buying-off of one of those attacks which gave the opportunity for the founding of one of the greatest of all the Chinese dynasties. From the fact that the Chinese still call themselves "T'ang jên," — men of T'ang — it may be seen how important was the period which was inaugurated in 618 A.D. and lasted till 905.

The real founder of the T'ang dynasty was Prince Li Chi-min, who was later known as the Emperor T'ai Tsung.[1] He defeated the Turks whom his father had subsidized, brought back prosperity to the realm by plain living and high thinking, published a splendid new edition of the classics, and not less by his interest in good government than by his wars made China respected westward to the Caspian. His beautiful wife left him the legacy of her devotion in the following words:

[1] Reigned from 627 to 650 A.D.

"Put no jewels in my coffin; let my head rest upon a wooden tile, and fasten my hair with wooden pins. Listen to no unworthy men, and build no costly palaces. If you promise me these things, I shall die happy." Nevertheless, T'ai Tsung died in disillusionment. For him too the path of glory led but to the grave. "My children," said he, "the waves which float our bark are able to submerge it in an instant; assuredly the people are like the waves, and the Emperor like the fragile bark." The grief of the people was unrestrained when the great T'ang emperor died. Even the foreign envoys cut themselves with lancets and knives, and sprinkled the bier with their blood.

It may be said without fear of contradiction that during the seventh and eighth centuries China was the greatest, most powerful, most highly cultured empire on earth. One illustration of this is to be found in the singular attraction the capital of China — which at the time was Si-ngan,[1] — possessed for students of the world's religions. Here were to be found, side by side, the temples of China's three religions, the faiths of K'ung, of Lao, and of Fo — that is, the Buddha. But there were also representatives of cults foreign in a different sense than was Buddhism. Preachers were there of that strange Persian dualism known as Manichæanism, which had spread from Asia westward to North Africa and Britain and eastward to China. Hither also had come followers of Zoroaster, even prior to their forced flight before the hordes of Islam. Hither also came fierce zealots of Muhammadanism, including a maternal uncle of the Prophet himself. And here came Syrian missionaries of Nestorian[2] Christianity, under their leader Olupun. One of the most interesting of the surviving monuments of antiquity is the famous Nestorian Stone,[3] erected in the capital of China in 781 A.D. to commemorate the success of the Christian faith in the Middle Kingdom. To this

[1] In the Province of Shensi.

[2] So called from Nestorius, the Patriarch of Constantinople condemned by the Council of Ephesus in 431 A.D.

[3] See Frits Holm, *My Nestorian Adventure.*

T'ang, the Completer, Offers Himself a Sacrifice for the Chinese Empire

monument are appended the signatures, in Chinese and Syriac, of some fifty or more high ecclesiastics of the realm.

It will be observed that at this time China had no very limited outlook upon the world, since the Son of Heaven was able to estimate the proper place of the monarchs of Irak, India, Turkestan, and Rum in the outer world. And there was no reason for China to shrink from comparison with the greatest among these.

One claim to distinction at this time must not be overlooked. It is in the number and excellence of the T'ang poets. "In this age," says a native critic, "whoever was a man was a poet." As a class, the poets were bibulous and dissolute, but their work is still immensely popular. The greatest of them all was Li Po. Originally one of "the cotton-clothed," he appears suddenly in the brilliant court of Hsuan Tung early in the eighth century. He had to be doused with water before he could make a sober appearance, but on his entry he was able to wreak a sweet vengeance upon the wise men who had once plucked him in the examinations, for he commanded one of them to unlace his buskins and the other to mix his inks. Then, with still greater haughtiness, he ordered one of the ladies of the court to hold before him a screen of silk. On this he wrote beautiful verses in praise of the reigning beauty of the time, the Lady Yang Kwei-fei,[1] one of China's most illustrious sirens. Unfortunately, Li Po later made an enemy of the Lady Yang and was obliged to flee the court. Implicated in the rebellion of An Lu-shan, he very nearly lost his head. He found a welcome repose from courts and politics by retirement to his early haunts along the beloved Yang-tze and there at last came to his end. Legend has it that he was drowned one night in the river in the endeavor, while drunk, to embrace the reflection of the moon. A more poetical version gives an account of the poet's departure, seated on the back of a dolphin, to resume his place in the celestial spheres. China has still the greatest affection for the bohemian poet who loved so well her mighty

[1] The heroine of a famous Chinese poem, "The Everlasting Wrong."

river, and who could sum up his career in the words: "I make verses without tiring, while in front of my house the horses and the carts go by." [1]

In the case of India we may confine ourselves to the briefest possible summary of events. After sundry foreign invasions that followed upon the semiforeign dynasties we mentioned in the last chapter, there is a spectacular flare-up of empire in the Gupta dynasty, which held sway from the fourth to the middle of the seventh century. Chandragupta, the local rajah who founded this line, must not be confounded with the ruler of the same name who founded the Mauryan dynasty in the fourth century B.C. This Chandragupta, after a short reign, bequeathed his throne to his son, Samudragupta, who has been called the Indian Napoleon. He won the greatest Indian empire since the days of Açoka, and reëstablished the Vedic horse-sacrifice, or Açvamedha.[2] This is an evident sign that Buddhism was on the decline. Next comes the greatest of all the Guptas, Chandragupta II, known generally as Vikramaditya, the Sun of Power. He was an orthodox Hindu, and his court became the rallying-point for all things Indian. A galaxy of poets and philosophers made it their residence, and among them was, it is said, the best known of Indian dramatists, Kalidasa, author of the *Çakuntala*.[3] It will be remembered that it was this play which so charmed the poet Goethe and influenced him in the writing of *Faust*. Another reign of remarkable length followed, in the forty years of Kumaragupta; then the glory of the line departed, to be only partly revived by Harsha, a connection of the family, who reigned from 606 to 647 A.D.

To the array of native talent which assembled itself at the Gupta court we must add certain foreigners of distinction. Much of the Indian history of this time, and many discoveries

[1] See translation of Li Po's poems by Shigeyoshi Obata.

[2] A horse was let loose for a year and followed by a band of armed men. At the end of the year, if the way of the horse had not been disputed, it was sacrificed and was regarded as proof that the authority of the king was recognized wherever the little procession had passed.

[3] The full title is *The Lost Ring of Çakuntala*. See translation by Ryder.

of our own time, spring from the faithful record kept by certain humble Buddhist monks, such as Fa-hien, Sung, and Hiouen Tsang.[1] These men set out from their Chinese homes as pilgrims, traversed the great trade-routes, receiving hospitality along the way at monastic establishments that reveal the catholicity of the Buddhist faith; they crossed the mighty mountain-gorges that led into the Holy Land of India, and there visited the sacred spots. They collected treasures in books and images, and returned to tell their story and to create libraries for the use of generations to come. In our own day the discovery of the birthplace of the Buddha,[2] with the pillar of Açoka which records it, and of the ashes [3] of Gautama enshrined in the stupa at Purushapura, has been due to the account of his travels left behind by that most charming of Chinese travelers, Fa-hien. These Buddhist pilgrims, however, record something more than their own adventures, since they make it plain that the influence of Buddhism was on the wane. At the same time Brahmanism was reviving, much intermingled with material from the older native cults. The result was to be known henceforth as Hinduism. Into the stages of this religious change we are unable to venture, but must conclude the present reference to India with the reminder that Harsha, the last representative of the Guptas, was also the last lord-paramount of India of the native stock.

West of India, in Persia, we have a notable epoch, though destined in the very midst of the seventh century to give way to the onslaughts of Islam. A rebellion against the Greek governor under the Seleucids brought to the front a young Parthian prince [4] who established what is known as the Arsacid, or Parthian dynasty. It lasted for some four and a half centuries, and during much of the time was engaged in an

[1] See translations by Beal and by Legge.

[2] Açoka's pillar was rediscovered in 1896–97.

[3] The ashes of the Buddha were rediscovered at Peshawur, the ancient Purushapura, in 1907.

[4] Arsaces, who hoisted again the old Persian banner known as "the blacksmith's apron."

exhausting struggle with imperial Rome. Then, about 225 A.D., a prince named Ardashir, — Artaxerxes, — who traced his descent from the old Achæmenian kings, rose against Artabanus,[1] the last of the Parthian rulers, and inaugurated the more glorious period of the Sassanids. These began their rule by perpetrating a curious chronological fraud. Fearing lest their own dynasty should be short-lived, since prophecy spoke of disaster to come a thousand years from the days of Zoroaster, they deliberately cut off three centuries from the Parthian period! The Sassanids themselves actually reigned a little over four centuries and had some very able monarchs to bear the weight of their splendid crown.[2] Under the two Shahpurs, the war with Rome was successfully waged. The Emperor Valerian[3] was captured and made to serve as a horse block for the Persian king, and after death his skin was nailed upon the wall of the city. Diocletian won a victory over Narses, but Constantius was defeated and Julian, known as the Apostate, was defeated and slain in 363 A.D. A well-known but doubtful story declares that as he clutched the bloody dust Julian cried: "Galilean, Thou hast conquered!"[4]

In the same reigns an attempt was made to quench in blood the heresy of Mani, known as Manichæanism.[5] Mani had evolved a strange compound of Buddhism, Christianity, and Zoroastrianism, and had made of it a kind of dualism, with an eternal distinction between the principles of light and of darkness. He was barbarously executed and his skin stuffed with straw about the year 273 A.D. Nevertheless, the system spread widely east and west. It obtained a powerful hold in North Africa, where Augustine,[6] the future Bishop of Hippo, was for some nine years a "hearer." In certain forms Manichæanism endured in Europe until the twelfth century.

In addition to suppressing heresy, we must credit the early

[1] Or Ardawan.

[2] The crown of the Sassanids was so heavy that it was suspended by chains from the ceiling. The monarch merely put his head underneath.

[3] 260 A.D.

[4] See Ibsen's drama, *Emperor and Galilean*.

[5] Mani was born in 215 A.D.

[6] 354–430 A.D.

Sassanid kings with the zealous propagation of Zoroastrianism, which came back with revived force after Greek influence had done its best to discredit it. Under Shahpur II the *Avesta* was revised and the fragments put together which had survived the wrath of "accursed Alexander the Roman." Mithra, the sun-god, then became a very popular deity and his worship was carried far and wide by the returning soldiery of Rome. Kipling is not exaggerating when he makes the Roman soldier in Britain sing:

> "Many roads Thou hast fashioned: all of them lead to the Light.
> Mithras, also a soldier, teach us to die aright!" [1]

The later Sassanids include the two long and notable reigns of the two Khosrus. Khosru Nushirwan, the Just, reigned forty-eight years, held his own in warfare, and did much to advance the cause of literature. Khosru Parwiz received one day toward the close of his reign a letter from an obscure Arab sheikh, named Muhammad, commanding instant obedience to Allah and his Apostle. He did not realize how the long generations of war with Rome had so weakened both empires that neither would be able to withstand the onrush of the warriors so soon to burst forth from the desert sands. The great battle of Nahawend in 641 A.D. spelled the doom of Persian sovereignty for a long while to come.

Now our own way has been smoothed for the contemplation of that portentous episode which, however otherwise accounted for, is not to be dissociated from the personality of Muhammad himself. Who can argue that personality is an insignificant force in history when he reflects upon the story of the camel-driver of Mecca and recalls how the slogan of the Kelima, "There is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is His Apostle," in one brief century tore away the richest provinces from the Roman Empire and carried the green flag of Islam from India to the Pillars of Hercules, the latter to bear from henceforth,

[1] See Kipling, *Puck of Pook's Hill.*

in memory of a Muhammadan commander, the name Gibraltar — Jebel Tarik.[1]

Yet the student will seek to appreciate certain other things which had their influence. There was, for instance, the influence of that mysterious and massive peninsula, one third the size of Europe, with its outlook toward three continents. Arabia, that is, "the dusky land," [2] had at intervals been pouring forth its hordes of hungry nomads from the beginning of time. Other races and religions, moreover, had impressed themselves — together with some knowledge of Roman institutions — upon the Arab mind in what the Muhammadans call "the days of ignorance."

The pre-Islamite religion of Arabia had been much affected by Judaism and Christianity, especially in the more settled communities, but fundamentally it was a paganism which itself included several diverse elements. There was a Sabæanism,[3] or Mandaism, which worshiped the stars and planets and represented the stellar deities as goddesses, such as Allât and Manât. There was also the fetichism which paid reverence to stones such as the meteorite known as the Kaaba,[4] and springs such as the Zemzem [5] well. Both of these latter were subsequently incorporated by the Prophet into his own system and made prominent objects of reverence during the Hâj, or pilgrimage.

Muhammad, son of Abdullah, was born in Mecca, or Bakkah, the chief centre of these cults, in 571 A.D., "the year of the Elephant." [6] His father had died several months previously

[1] That is, the Rock of Târik ben Ziyad.

[2] Etymologically connected with such words as "Erebus," "raven," and so on.

[3] Sabæanism is the worship of the heavenly host, that is, the stars. *Cf.* the expression "Lord God of Sabaoth."

[4] The word "Kaaba," which means "cube," is applied both to the stone and to the cubical building which enshrines the stone.

[5] Muhammad taught that the Black Stone was part of the dwelling of our first parents in the Garden of Eden, blackened by the sin of men. The Zemzem, he taught, was the spring in the desert miraculously revealed to Hagar and Ishmael.

[6] That is, the year when the force of the invader, Abraham the Slit-nosed, who used an elephant to terrify the people of Mecca, was defeated. The beast knelt before the Kaaba and refused to move.

and the child was brought up first by his grandfather and then by his uncle, Abu Talib. The uncle was keeper of the Kaaba, so Muhammad from his infancy was acquainted with the religious as well as the social life of the chief Arabian city. He also accompanied his uncle in trading expeditions, saw fighting between the tribes, and came into contact with both Jewish and Christian influences. At the age of twenty-five the future Apostle of Allah married a rich widow of Mecca named Khadijah, a lady much older than himself but an excellent helpmeet. This was a turning-point in his career, since Khadijah's wealth gave him much consideration in the tribe. Shortly after came his strange communings in Mount Hira, which issued in the first revelations later embodied in the Quran.[1] But when Muhammad sought to propagate these revelations of the unity of God, he met with deaf ears. A period of great discouragement followed, during which there was disposition manifested to carry the movement over to Abyssinia. There was even, on one occasion, an inclination to make some compromise with the idolaters. On the other hand, a few loyal souls rallied around the Prophet. These were — in addition to Khadijah and the freedman Zayd — Ali, Abu Bakr, Uthman, and Umar, all of whom became later great personages in Islam.

Another turning-point in the career of Muhammad came with the arrival of a deputation from Yathrib, afterward called Al-Madinah, that is, "the City (of Muhammad)." The overtures made by this little band resulted in what is known as the Hijra or flight, 622 A.D. The date was ever afterward observed as the beginning of the Muhammadan era.[2] Muhammad lived ten years more, and during those years the faith made prodigious headway; but success was purchased at the cost of much accommodation, publicly and privately. Tribes were won by the sword rather than by preaching, and the Prophet who, during Khadijah's life, had taken no other wife,

[1] *Quran* means "the Reading," in the sense of something read aloud in the ears of the people.

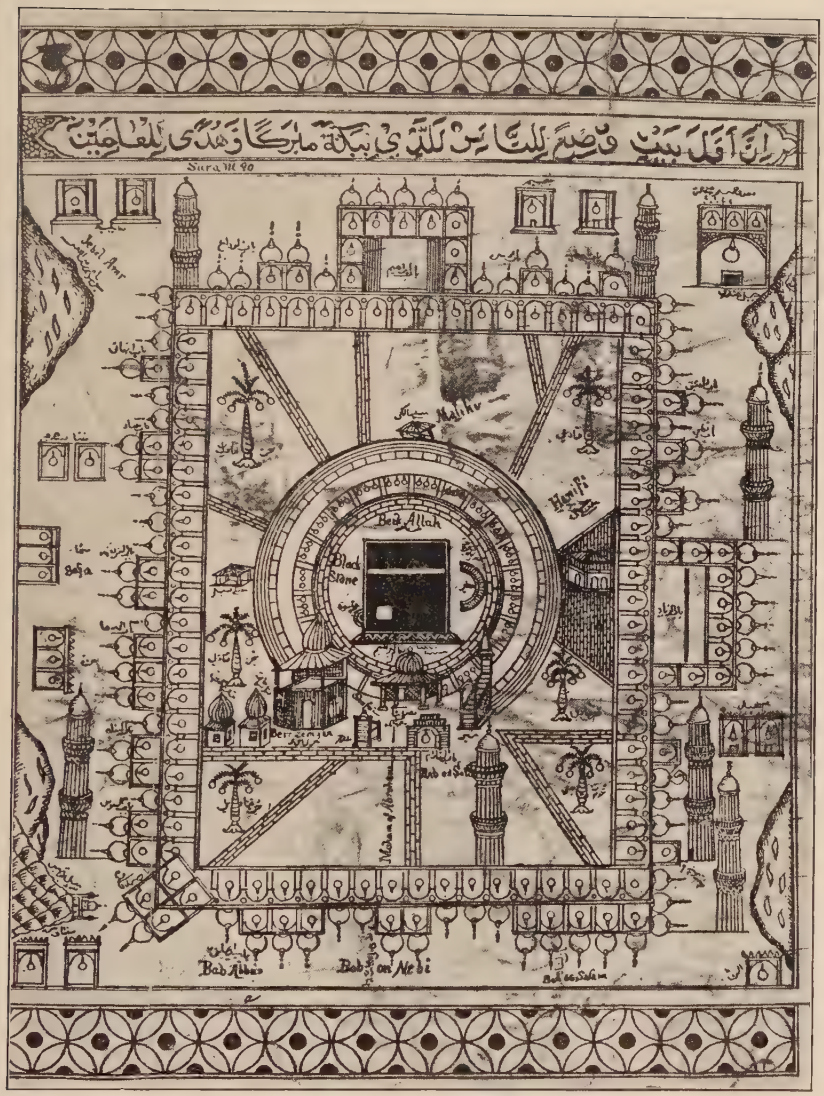
[2] The Muhammadan year is lunar. Our year 1925 is 1343 A.H.

now multiplied his wives according to inclination. Vengeance was taken upon the city of Mecca, and the first Hâj celebrated with much triumph. Letters were sent to all the known monarchs of the earth, with demands which seemed less ridiculous a generation or so later.

Muhammad died in the arms of his favorite wife, Ayesha, 632 A.D., having lived to see Arabia in a measure unified and the battle-cry of Islam recognized far beyond the borders of the peninsula. He had lived also to create a book, the Quran, which, in spite of its monotony and other imperfections, is still the hope in life and death of fifteen per cent of the human race. The system of Islam, professed to-day by 233 millions of men, has made many of the social ills of humanity sacrosanct in the name of religion; but it has redeemed many a backward race from idolatry and infanticide, placed them submissively under the will of an Almighty God, and given a certain kind of unity to peoples who had hitherto been a mere welter of tribal discord. To pray regularly, to give alms, to fast in the month Ramadhan, to recite the Kelima, and to make the Hâj or sacred pilgrimage to Mecca, were duties not beyond the average man, but they were duties which bound men together in the bonds of a brotherhood which is still effective and of vast political significance.

Muhammad's death inaugurates the period of the Khalifate [1] which, after thirteen centuries, is still one of the live questions of politics. The four orthodox Khalifs, from 632 to 661, did much to complete the material conquests of Muhammadanism. Muhammad himself was no great soldier, but a galaxy of genius succeeded him. Under the lead of such men as Khalid, "the lion of God," Persia, Syria, Egypt, and Spain rapidly yielded allegiance to the Quran. The orthodox Khalifs, ruling from Madinah, retained the simple manners of the Arabian herdsmen, though this did not prevent three out of the four from meeting a violent death. The exception is Abu Bakr, father-in-law and immediate successor of the Prophet, 632–634. He

[1] The word "Khalif" signifies "vicar," or "representative."



THE MECCA CERTIFICATE

Portion showing the Kaaba

bequeathed the Khalifate to another of Muhammad's fathers-in-law, Umar, who received the bequest with the words: "I have no occasion for the place." To this Abu Bakr made the memorable response: "But the place has occasion for you." Umar's ten years were years of almost miraculous expansion to Islam. His policy is stated in the words: "He that is weakest among you shall be in my sight the strongest till I have vindicated his rights; and he that is strongest shall be as the weakest until he obeys the law." Umar was stabbed to death in the mosque of Kufa by a disgruntled workman. Then came Uthman, one of Muhammad's sons-in-law, and reigned till 656. He is more famous for the standardization of the Quranic text than for any political ability displayed, though his armies were victorious to the ends of the earth. He was murdered in his own house while reading the Quran. At last came the chance for Ali, the favorite son-in-law and nephew of the Prophet, who from the first had regarded himself as the legitimate heir. But Ali was not more fortunate than his predecessors. He died in 661, as the result of a conspiracy.

With Ali's death, the Khalifate passed into the hands of the Syrian general Muawiya, who founded what is known as the Ummayad line, ruling from Damascus. The terrible tragedy on the field of Kerbela, whereby Husayn, the youngest son of Ali, was slain, marks the beginning of a great schism. Henceforth, Islam was split between the Sunnites, who respect the tradition or Sunna and accept all four orthodox Khalifs, and the Shiïtes, or followers of Ali, who reject Ali's three predecessors and still keep up the Passion Play[1] of the month Muharram, to perpetuate their lamentation for the untimely deaths of Ali and his sons. It will be difficult to understand the politics of modern Islam in India, Persia, Turkey, or Arabia, without appreciating something of the age-long antagonism which has existed between Sunnite and Shiïte.

[1] For a good account of the Passion Play in India, see Sir George Birdwood, *The Muharram at Bombay*.

The Ummayad Khalifate, with its capital at Damascus, was in reality a Syrian imperialism, using indeed the Arabic language and the unifying power of the Quran, but circulating through the medium of the language and the faith a good deal which was outside the experience of the Prophet and his companions. We may trespass just sufficiently on another period to remind the reader that, except in Spain, the Ummayad rule in its turn gave way in 749 to still another line of Khalifs, even further removed from the ideals of the Prophet and his first successors. In the Abbasid Khalifate, as this line is called, centred in the city of Bagdad on the Euphrates, the old court of Sassanid Persia came back, speaking the Arabic tongue, but conforming only in a few things to the tenets of Islam. Here we have no longer the Islam of the Quran but rather that of the *Arabian Nights*.

There is no space to attempt further the unification of the story of Asia during this significant era, but the reader may well be reminded of the importance of making the effort on his own behalf. There is a whole mass of detail which it may seem difficult or impossible to correlate; but it should not be impossible to catch the undertones in this story of human clash and conflict — undertones which make the ground-tone of Asiatic history itself.

Aside from this, it will be sufficient to recognize that, even in regard to the movements which we have separately alluded to, there is revealed a kind of catholicity which is never wholly out of sight. In the case of Buddhism, with its world-wide appeal, this is of course obvious, though even here the reader needs to be reminded of certain strange exchanges. For instance, we find that the story of the Buddha, under the title of *Barlaam and Josaphat*,[1] becomes one of the favorite romances of mediæval Europe, and even secured for the Indian prince the prestige of canonization.[2] It is more unexpected to find

[1] *Barlaam and Josaphat*, the romance in Greek by St. John Damascene, is translated in the Loeb Classical Library.

[2] The Feast of St. Josaphat is kept, in both the Greek and the Latin Church, in the month of November.

the same catholicity in the influence of Islam. The case of the migration of fables[1] is a good example, since we are in this instance reminded that the fable literature of India, coveted by the Sassanian kings as a vehicle for the instruction of the princes in polity, in due time puts on an Arabic dress, and in this guise is introduced at last to the literature of Spain, Provence, and Italy. It is not a little strange to find the most sectarian of religious systems responsible for the wide diffusion of the flowers of the East, jasmine, camellia, and the double rose, for fruits such as the orange, lemon, and apricot, and for such other things as the introduction into Europe of sugar and rice.

As for the diffusion of Christianity in the East, we have already referred to the work of the Nestorian missions. It would take us too far to discuss the possibility of more indirect influence upon Buddhism. It is at least provocative of thought when we get glimpses, through such a survey as this, of an empire in Asia, both intellectual and spiritual, wider even than that controlled by the Khalifs from Bagdad or by the Sons of Heaven from Si-ngan.

[1] See essay by Max Müller on "The Migration of Fables" in *Chips from a German Workshop*, vol. IV.

CHAPTER V

ASIA IN THE GRIP OF THE TATARS

In every field of vision there is a blind spot, due to the structure of the retina. For an extraordinarily large number of people the thirteenth century, most unfortunately, is the blind spot of the historical field. The period, quite frequently regarded, even by students, as part of the Dark Ages, is dark rather because of the blindness of the observer than because of the obscurity of the epoch. As a matter of sober fact, the thirteenth century is the true prelude to modern history. It is comparable to that miraculous greening which comes over the Chinese landscape when winter begins to pass into spring.

To a certain extent we do appreciate this in the case of the history of Europe. We dwell upon the rebirth of art in the work of Cimabue and of Giotto. We think of Dante, in literature, as the first of the moderns. We are moved at the wonderful revival of religion brought about by the apostolic labors of Saint Francis. But all this is equally true of Asia, as we hope even this brief sketch of the period and of the events leading thereto will sufficiently make clear.

In Western Asia the first great onrush of Muhammadan conquest, which "broke like lava-burst upon the realm where reigned pre-Adamite kings," had spent its force. The lands "whelmed by the tempest of the tribes who called the camel-driver king" had settled down to life under the Bagdad Khalifate.[1] In the East tribes as yet far below the historical horizon

[1] 749–1258 A.D.

were waiting for destiny to call them for the recruiting of Islam. Their time had not yet come.

The Golden Age of Islam has been seen in the century from 749 to 847 A.D. It is marked by some decline in the martial vigor and religious fervor of the Arab, but there is a corresponding increase in the influence of Persia. The selection of Bagdad as capital, the appointment of Persian viziers, such as the Barmecides,[1] and the splendid outburst of interest in literature are sure signs of the Persian Renaissance. True, the language is Arabic, and the needs of Islam are kept in view in the creation of new grammars and dictionaries. But most of the new literary lights are non-Arab[2] and the tendency is steadily toward a humanism which was foreign to the first Muhammadan generation. The great Khalifs of Bagdad all belong to this century. They are Mansur, the real builder of Bagdad; Haroun al-Raschid,[3] familiar to readers of the *Arabian Nights*, contemporary of Charlemagne, with whom he corresponded on the matter of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem; and Mamun, patron of literature and founder of the "House of Science." In Haroun's time appeared that strange product of mystic Persian eclecticism, Al-Muqanna, the Veiled Prophet of Khorasan,[4] whose deceptions led astray a host of credulous enthusiasts.

But the glories of the Bagdad Khalifate were becoming not a little tarnished by the end of the ninth century. The successors of Haroun al-Raschid were for the most part decrepit ecclesiastics, though still as pompous as ever. They were ill able to preserve unity in the face of the quarrelsome dynasts who here and there at one another's expense "grasped the skirts of happy chance." These bandits of empire succeeded one another with bewildering rapidity. The student will find it hard to follow

[1] The family of Barmak. Barmak, his son Yahya, and grandson Jafr, were all viziers of the Abbasid Khalifs. Note the phrase "Barmecide feast" in *Arabian Nights*.

[2] For example, Avicenna, who was a Persian.

[3] That is, "Aaron the Orthodox." He was Khalif from 763 to 808.

[4] See Thomas Moore's *Lalla Rookh*, Canto I.

the vicissitudes which made Saffarid, Samanid, Ghaznavid, Seljuk, Kwarasmshah, in turn lords of the destinies of Western Asia. Yet some of these lines brought into prominence splendid figures whose adventures are romantic enough to preserve their memory. Among these is the famous Afghan chief, son of a slave, who not only was a great soldier but also made Ghazni a centre of literary culture. "Mahmud,[1] the Image-breaker," as Lowell calls him, in reference to his iconoclastic exploit in India, "Mahmud on his golden throne," as Umar recalls him, was the first ruler to call himself Sultan. He was also the first Muhammadan conqueror of India, though perhaps he deserves the name of raider. We owe to him both the credit of having conceived the idea of writing the epic of Persia, known as the *Shah Namah*,[2] and also the discredit of the ingratitude which made the tragedy of the "Persian Homer." Firdusi, "the poet of Paradise," [3] was proud indeed to take up the task laid down by the murdered Daqiqi [4] — the task of telling the whole of Persia's story from Pishdadian and Kayanian times down to the Muhammadan conquest, with the sagas of Rustem and his fellow paladins. But when the poet failed to receive the promised remuneration, he did not spare the name and fame of his quondam patron. Repentance came too late to Mahmud, if the tale be true; for the train of camels bearing the belated treasure entered the city of Tus only to meet Firdusi's funeral procession passing through the gates.

Among the Seljuks who entered upon the inheritance of the Ghaznavids about the middle of the eleventh century we have several important names. Alp Arslan is known not merely for the prodigious moustache he was wont to tie back when fight-

[1] Son of Sabuktegin; reigned from 998 to 1030.

[2] Best read in James Atkinson's condensed version.

[3] The "Paradise" from which Abu'l Kasim Mansur took the name of Firdusi was the garden of the Governor of Tus, where, according to one story, his early attempts at versification were made.

[4] Daqiqi wrote the first thousand verses and was murdered in 975 by a fanatic who resented eulogy of the old Zoroastrian kings.

ing, but also as the captor of the unhappy Emperor, Diogenes Romanus. His successor, Malik Shah, was a truly great sovereign, whose writ ran from the Tigris to the Mediterranean. Under him lived, according to a popular story, the "Three School-fellows of Nishapur." One was the great vizier, Nizam ul-Mulk, first to arrive at office, first to fulfill the promise of mutual assistance and support. The second is Umar ben Ibrahim al-Khayyami, the astronomer-poet whose quatrains have been made familiar to the world in the version of Edward Fitzgerald. The third is Hasan ben Sabah, founder of the famous secret society of the Assassins,[1] the "Old Man of the Mountain" of the Crusaders. The society became and remained an instrument of terror to rulers down to the times of the Mongol. The Bagdad Khalifs were still impotently pontificating at the capital when the Seljuk Turks were swept aside by the Kwarasmshahs, or kings of Khiva. With these the stage is set for the great Mongol storm which was destined to sweep into one common ruin kings and kingdoms from the Son of Heaven to the Khalif of Bagdad. To this stupendous tempest we must presently return.

In China we have to follow a sequence of events in many respects similar to those just outlined. The Sung dynasty (960–1279) was more fortunate in its art and in its philosophy than in its politics. One incident, however, extending over ten years, ought to be especially interesting to students. This is the heroic attempt of the scholar-statesman, Wang An-shih,[2] to recommend to China a system of state socialism. With a new division of land, graded according to its productivity, a new system of taxation, designed especially in the interest of the poor, with a daily regulation of wages and prices, state relief for the sick and unemployed, pensions for old age, free seed for the cultivation of waste places, and such like, Wang anticipated most of the schemes of modern reformers. He failed, largely

[1] So called because the emissaries were dosed with hashish to keep them under the influence of the Grand Master. See Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. I, p. 144.

[2] See *Wang An-shih and His Reforms*, A. J. Ivanoff (in Russian).

through the corruptibility of officials, but partly because of a conjunction of adverse circumstances in the physical world. We must also take into account the fact that upon the northern frontiers at this time wave after wave of hungry humanity was beating, with the regularity and force of billows upon an exposed sea-coast. First came the Khitan Tatars, who called themselves Liao (Iron) and have left their name in that part of Southern Manchuria we call the Liao-tung Peninsula. To expel these dangerous intruders the desperate Sungs engaged the services of the tribes who afterward bore the fateful name of Manchu. At this time they were called Chins, or Gold Tatars, to distinguish them from the Liaos. For, said they, "Iron rusts, but gold endures." They undertook the campaign with alacrity and soon got rid of the Khitans, though the name Khitan still lingers in the mediæval term for China — Cathay. Having expelled the Khitans, the Chins installed themselves, as they hoped permanently, in all China north of the Yang-tze. So there were now two realms in China, the Sungs in the South and the Chins in the North; yet neither Chin nor Sung was destined to retain for long the divided throne. The thirteenth century had barely opened when the terrible Mongol torrent burst through the Great Wall, to the obliteration of all distinction between Khitan and Chin, or between Chin and Sung.

Before we speak of this tremendous moment — one of the most portentous in human history — it is necessary to devote a paragraph to Japan, in order to bring the general story of Asia abreast of the situation in China. We left the Far Eastern Empire with its institutions well developed. The actual groundwork of the administrative system was Japanese, but the details were largely borrowed from the Middle Kingdom. Buddhism was in the saddle. It is to this fact that, in spite of the vast indebtedness of Japan to the religion of Shaka in other ways, we must ascribe a certain weakening of the imperial power. The rulers who took up with Buddhism gradually lost interest in secular affairs. First, they became learned emperors

— that is, emperors who devoted themselves to the study of the Chinese sutras or books of Buddhist doctrine. Then they moved still further away from secular cares by becoming cloistered emperors, retiring into a monastery. Lastly, the rulers almost inevitably became child emperors, since no sooner was manhood attained than the disposition was cultivated to abdicate and seek the seclusion of the cloister. The result of this voluntary withdrawal was twofold. First, the real power was left temptingly in the hands of one or other of the great military clans. Secondly, there was always an ex-Mikado — or even two — ready to prove a dangerous tool in the hands of some ambitious chieftain who wanted the advantages of rebellion without the appearance of treason toward the throne. In this way it came to pass in the twelfth century that the Emperor was transformed into a sacrosanct personage completely shorn of all political responsibility. He lived more or less in seclusion in Kyoto, with courtiers — *kuge* — who spent their days in poetry-contests, incense-smelling, blossom-viewing, mushroom-gathering, and the like. The most powerful military chieftain, meanwhile, known as the Shogun or Commander-in-chief, became the real ruler of the Empire. For several generations there were struggles between the clans for this supremacy. The Fujiwaras had completely displaced the Sogas from the position attained through their Buddhistic interest. Then came the strife between Fujiwara and Sugawara, which was ended by the Emperor sending the Fujiwara chief on an expedition against the Ainus and diverting the attention of the Sugawara head to literature. Out of this devotion to letters came the deification of Sugawara Michizane as god of letters,[1] though that apotheosis was really the last resort of the Emperor, to still the unquiet ghost of an exiled minister. The real tug-of-war was that between the Taira, or Hei, and the Minamoto, or Gen, which lasted for more than a generation. It had consequences, moreover, which have affected Japan down to modern times. This conflict is often

[1] Apotheosized under the name of Tenjin.

spoken of as the Japanese Wars of the Roses, the badge of the Hei being red, and that of the Gen white. This conflict came to a head in the middle of the eleventh century, when the Minamoto chief, Yoshitomo, who had slain his own father and brothers in the cause of the Emperor, quarreled with the Taira chief, Kiyomori, and so, because the Emperor was the guest of the Taira, became a rebel. The cruel and relentless Kiyomori did not rest till Yoshitomo was slain and his famous archer brother Tametomo exiled to the Ryukyu Islands.[1] Yoshitomo's sons tried to sustain the unequal fight, and one of them, Yoritomo, a boy of fourteen, fought on with his sword — "the Beard-cutter"[2] — till he fell asleep on his horse. The capture of Yoritomo and of his baby brother Yoshitsune — the child of Yoshitomo and the beautiful concubine, Tokiwa,[3] — established Kiyomori in power in 1156. From this time till 1185 the Tairas were in secure possession of authority in the realm, though Kiyomori would have felt less assured had he known what "the Minamoto cubs" were planning. The elder, Yoritomo, who had been placed in charge of the Hojo clan, had promptly espoused the daughter of Hojo Tokimasa, the Lady Masa. This young lady, afterward so notable a figure, had given some taste of her force of character by purchasing from her sister the dream in which a handsome young cavalier was seen on his way, a-wooing. This young cavalier was destined to spell the doom of the Taira. When Kiyomori lay dying, he begged that no prayers or incense be offered at his grave to quiet the angry ghost, but only the gory head of Yoritomo, whom he had once had in his power but had permitted to escape. The younger brother, Yoshitsune, one of the darlings of Japanese chivalry, was placed first of all in a Buddhist monastery. Here, becoming known for his strength as Ushiwaka, "the young ox," he rapidly made it plain that arms

[1] Tametomo is said to have established himself as king of the Ryukyu Islands.

[2] The *Hige-kiri*, so called because it could cut through head and beard at a stroke. It was made by a famous swordsmith with fifty days' labor.

[3] See Longford, *The Story of Old Japan*, p. 98.

were more congenial to him than sutras. His first great adventure came when he defeated the noted swordsman, Benkei, on the bridge of Kyoto, and won not only a duel but a lifelong friend and henchman. The two brothers eventually joined forces, and in 1185 was fought the decisive naval battle of Danno-ura, which redressed the fortunes of the Minamotos and settled their supremacy for seven hundred years. Yoritomo established himself at his new city of Kamakura,[1] conveniently distant from the capital, and became Japan's first Shogun or military ruler. With the help of his strong-minded wife, the Lady Masa, and that of her father, Hojo Tokimasa, he ruled with vigor and success. The one blot upon his career is his shameful treatment of Yoshitsune, toward whom he developed an unreasoning jealousy. The story of the hunting of this brother to death is as full of pathos and romance as anything we find in the adventures of Prince Charlie. Yoshitsune and his devoted comrade met at last their fate, though legend has been busy with stories of escape. Indeed, one legend has gone so far astray from the path of possibility as to tell of Yoshitsune's flight to the mainland of Asia and of his reappearance as Jenghiz Khan. In 1198, when Yoritomo was opening a new bridge in Kamakura, he suddenly became aware — says the story — of the blood-boltered ghost of his murdered brother in the river-bed beneath. The startled horse, too, saw and reared, with the result that the Shogun was thrown and received injuries from which he died.

The first Shogun, with all his faults, was a man of consummate ability, but his success was much assisted by the coöperation of his wife and his father-in-law. In fact, soon after the death of Yoritomo, the Hojo relatives established themselves at Kamakura, which Yoritomo had made the administrative capital. Here they took the title of Shikken, or Regents. The sons of Yoritomo[2] showed no particular ability as Shoguns and were speedily disposed of. After their death, Shoguns were

[1] Near Yokohama; now famous for the *Daibutsu* (gigantic statue of Buddha).
[2] Yoriiye and Sanetomo, both murdered.

deliberately chosen by the Hojos from the minor members of the royal family, while they themselves usurped the power as Regents. The Shikken actually pushed aside the Shoguns very much as the Shoguns formed the habit of pushing aside the Emperors. Indeed, at one point in the Hojo period (1199–1333) the Kanrio (tutors) created a kind of four-decker system by elbowing their superiors still further into the shade. For these and other irregularities the Hojo period is frequently decried. One of the worst of potato-pests is known as the Hojo beetle. But in truth the Hojo Regents for the most part were masterful and capable men. To one of them the empire owed the preparations which enabled it to meet successfully the menace of the Mongol.

Since we have now found the Mongol at the end of every one of our separate trails, it is proper that we should tell the tale less allusively.

The story of Jenghiz Khan reads to-day more like the description of a great yet purging flood than an episode in human history. It is idle to seek its explanation solely in the realm of geography or of economics. In accounting for all the facts we must of course give a place to the mobility which the possession of horses and lifelong training in their use gave to the centaurs of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. We must appreciate also the need felt for vaster and fresher pasture-lands, a need which of course grew with the indulgence of the appetite. But we are, nevertheless, obliged to place in the forefront of the explanation the fateful personality of Jenghiz Khan, which, at bottom, we can no more account for than the genius of Shakespeare.

The early history of the Mongol,[1] till the coming of Jenghiz, is but a sordid story of cattle-lifting and the grabbing of pasture land. Then, ninth in succession from the supernatural progeny of a blue wolf and a gray doe, we come upon the brothers Duva and Doben. Duva, the one-eyed, was able to see through

[1] Originally a Tatar tribe from the upper course of the Amur; the word means "brave men."

three ranges of mountains — no doubt a useful accomplishment for the cattle-raider. Doben, more romantically inclined, married the princess Alan Goa, and by her became the father of five sons. Of this mother and her sons is told the familiar story of the bundle of sticks, unbreakable while bound together, but easily broken when the binding thong was severed. Some generations later came into the world the descendant of this line who illustrates in practice that, for a time at least, strength won by the murder of one's relatives may be as effective as that secured by unity. Born in 1162, with a clot of blood in his infant fist, Temuchin, as the real name was, started to grow up into greatness through one long baptism of blood. Of his rise to power and of the unspeakable cruelties which make one shudder at his every step, we have no space to tell. In 1206 he raised his standard of nine yak-tails and assumed the title of Jenghiz, the Mighty One. In 1212 came the first invasion of China. Letters were brought to him from the Emperor of the Middle Kingdom which, it was specified, must be read on bended knee. Jenghiz, who had small respect for courtly etiquette, spat toward the south and immediately ordered an advance. The campaign was a bloody one, but speedily reduced Tatars and Sungs alike to subjection. Then followed an attack upon the Khalifate. The kings of Khiva, who were at this time the jackals battening on the political carcass of the Khalifate, thought to steal a march upon their ecclesiastical superiors, so they sent a secret message to Jenghiz, tattooed upon the shaven skull of their ambassador. When the hair was grown, the messenger set out to deliver to Jenghiz an invitation to reap the fruits of a treacherous plan. The Mongol received the missive in silence, spent the next three days in meditation on a mountain, then suddenly gave orders for the hurling of his vast force against the West. But the first attack was made upon the treacherous suggestor of the plan. Muhammad, last of the Kwarasmshahs, was hunted to his death in 1221, and perished miserably on a little island in the Caspian, with "none so poor to do him reverence." A shirt

had to be borrowed to make a shroud for the man who but lately had been among the proudest rulers of the earth. His son, Jalallu'din, was pursued into India, and there made a spectacular disappearance from history in the famous leap of horse and man from a high cliff that overlooked the Indus.

After this, Jenghiz launched his second campaign into China, while he entrusted to his generals the operations in the West, and particularly the conquest of Russia. To the relief of a panic-stricken and blood-sickened world, this campaign proved the last. The great exponent of ruthless militarism was at last mastered by one even more ruthless than himself. Death came on August 18, 1227, when Jenghiz was sixty-six years old. The remains were carried back to the tyrant's birthplace and there buried beside a favorite tree, long designated as the place for Temuchin's last repose. Then the spot was left for the trees to grow up around it, till the forest itself should be the guardian of his rest. Yet Jenghiz was by no means disposed to lie solitary in death. A prodigious slaughter reddened the path by which the long procession passed from the field of death to the place of interment, in order that the erstwhile leader of armies might not in this respect find things lacking in the underworld. At the grave itself, moreover, forty virgins of illustrious family and the choicest stallions in Asia were slain as a tribute to the royal *manes*.

The purging of Asia, which Jenghiz thus commenced, continued with unabated vigor under his successors. Ogdai, the second Great Khan, ravaged all the lands westward and took Liegnitz in 1241. It was after this battle that Saint Louis of France, whistling, as it were, to keep up his courage, perpetrated an historic pun by replying to the expressed fears of his mother, Blanche of Castile: "*Mère, si les Tatars arrivent, nous les ferons retourner au Tartare.*" Then followed Mangu, who sent his brother Hulagu to sack Bagdad. It was in 1263 that the splendid capital of the Abbasid Khalifs was sacked and 800,000 of its inhabitants put to the sword. Hulagu's motto was, "Stone-dead hath no fellow"; yet he was so anxious to

avoid the shedding of blood that he put the captured Khalif and his son into felt sacks and had them beaten to death.

The stupendous empire which Jenghiz carved out with the sword held together much longer than might have been expected. It reached its climax of glory in the third generation, with the sovereign whose sway extended from the Yellow Sea to the very heart of Europe. The name of Kublai is haloed with romance. On the one hand, he inspired to supernatural effort the patriotism of the Japanese. They rose as one man to repel the great armada and, assisted by a typhoon, they succeeded. On the other hand, in another island kingdom in the Far West, the subconscious mind of an English poet, affected by the reading of *Purchas, his Pilgrims*, created the dream-poem which begins:

> In Xanadu did Kubla Khan
> A stately pleasure dome decree,
> Where Alph, the sacred river, ran
> Through caverns measureless to man,
> Down to a sunless sea.[1]

The rule of the Mongol in China lasted barely a century, and when the end came it disappeared like snow before the sun. But our story would not be complete without some brief reference to the defeat of the Mongols by the Japanese under the Shikken Tokimune.[2] It is by way of reference to this defeat that Marco Polo first makes it possible for us to learn of the existence of Japan, "Land of the Sun-origin."

It was indeed a great testing-time for the Island Empire. It was also a lesson for the future as to the value of sea power. Time after time, borne across the seas, came the news that the Great Khan was preparing his hordes for invasion. With Korean[3] assistance he had created a fleet such as Eastern seas had never before beheld. It was, moreover, equipped for war in ways which the Western contacts of the Mongols had only of late made possible. For, to all appearance, gunpowder and

[1] Coleridge, "Kubla Khan, or a Vision in a Dream."
[2] A.D. 1251–84.
[3] The Koreans were at this time the shipbuilders of the East.

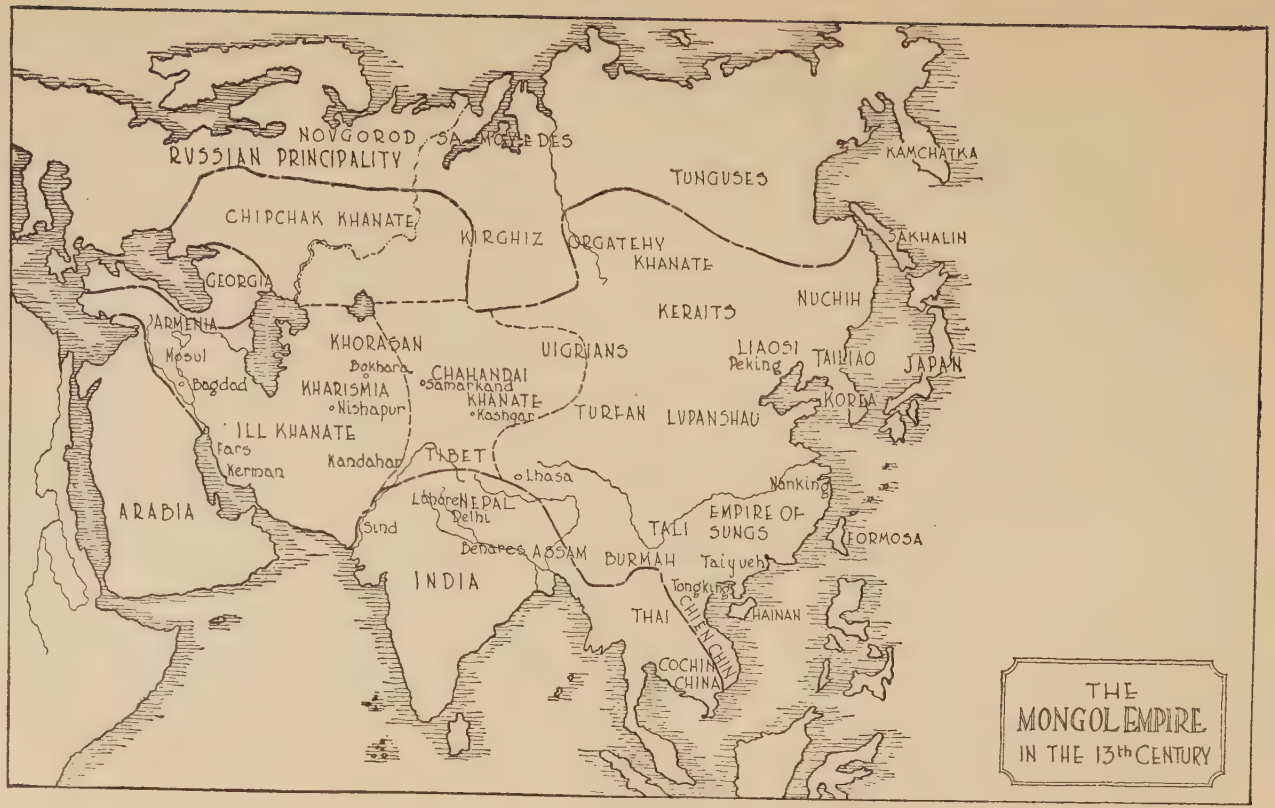
cannon [1] were now for the first time introduced into Oriental warfare. But the huge preparations, which made the hills of China mourn their devastated forests, proved of no avail. A little poem by the Emperor Komei (*d.* 1867) speaks in grateful terms of the "divine wind of Ise" which scattered the foreign ships. It is fair, however, to remember that Kublai Khan's armada was really defeated even before the coming of the typhoon.[2] The great wind merely completed the destruction which Japanese valor had already ensured.

In closing this chapter, let us gather up the threads of certain important movements which had much to do with determining the future of Europe and Asia. Illustrating in a remarkable degree the fluidity of the thirteenth-century world, we ought to note the journeys of the Friars Minor to the court of the Great Khans. It is still a delight to read of the adventures of John de Plano Carpini [3] on the road to Karakorum in 1246. Carpini does not seem to have been built for long-distance pedestrianism, since he was *vir gravis et corpulentus*. Possibly the description fitted him less well on his return, since his provender on the way was often no better than millet and snow water. The disciple and companion of Saint Francis, he was living in Cologne when all Europe was shaken by the disaster at Liegnitz. Something had to be done, and Innocent IV immediately selected the burly monk to go as ambassador to the Khan's court. Carpini, in addition to being corpulent, was sixty-five years old, but he left Lyons at Easter 1245 on his perilous mission. In the space of four months he traveled 3000 miles, and presented the papal letters, which were written in Mongol, Arabic, and Latin. He was back in Kiev in June 1247, "as one risen from the dead." The reward of an archbishopric came tardily, for Carpini did not long survive his travels; but he lives for us in the *Historia Mongolorum quos*

[1] "Iron balls, like footballs, were let fly from things called cannon with a sound like cart-wheels rolling down a steep declivity, and accompanied by flashes like lightning." The *Taiheiki*, a Japanese novel of the fourteenth century.

[2] See Ballard, *Sea Power in the History of Japan.*

[3] See Hakluyt, *Voyages*, vol. I.



THE MONGOL EMPIRE IN THE 13th CENTURY

nos Tartaros appellamus, a book whose interest is astonishingly fresh. This is one of his descriptions: "Now these Kitai are heathen men and have a written character of their own. . . . They seem indeed to be polished folk enough. They have no beard and in character of countenance have a considerable resemblance to the Mongols, but are not so broad in the face. They have a peculiar language. Their betters as craftsmen in every art practised by men are not to be found in the whole world." The first-hand description of the country, with its furious hailstorms and intolerable heat, and of the people, "partly prayseworthy and partly detestable," is mingled with less dependable tales of strange folk who had no joints in their legs, of the loadstone mountains which drew to themselves arrows and other weapons of war, and so on.

Another interesting narrative of the same type is that of the Flemish monk, William de Rubruk,[1] who journeyed Chinaward in 1253. De Rubruk went to Tatary for Louis IX, starting from the Crimea and making a journey of some 3000 miles to Karakorum. He too was handicapped by the flesh, since he is described as *ponderosus valde*. One significant thing about this traveler is his influence on the work of another famous Franciscan, his friend Roger Bacon, whose *Opus Majus* speaks affectionately of *frater Wilhelmus* and of the book, "*quem librum diligenter vidi et cum ejus auctore contuli.*" De Rubruk in this book modestly expresses the hope that he made his journey "like a wise man and not like a fool." Posterity has justified his confidence.

We would fain know what story is hidden behind the romantic rumors which reached the Western world at this time of Prester John,[2] ruler over seventy-two kingdoms in the East. Of this redoubtable monarch Sir John Mandeville[3] writes in 1332: "The Emperor Prester John has been christened and a

[1] Hakluyt, *Voyages*, vol. I.

[2] *Marco Polo*, vol. I, pp. 239–244 (Yule and Cordier).

[3] The name claimed by the familiar book of travels, written in French, and published between 1357 and 1371. Probably compiled by a physician of Liege, Jehan à la Barbe.

great part of his land also. They believe well in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The Emperor Prester John, when he goeth to battle, hath no banner borne before him, but he hath borne before him three crosses of fine gold, large and great, and thickly set with precious stones. And when he hath no battle, but rideth to take the air, then hath he borne before him a cross made of a tree." Of him also we are told: "All the wild beasts and monstrous creatures commemorated in current legend were to be found in his dominions, as well as all the wild and eccentric races of men of whom strange stories were told, including the unclean nations whom Alexander Magnus walled up among the mountains of the north, and who were to come forth at the latter day." Here were the gold-digging ants of whom Herodotus had spoken, the fish that gave purple, and all manner of precious stones and aromatics. Here too were the fountain of youth and the light-giving pebbles [1] which restore sight and render the possessor invisible. Here again were subterranean streams whose sands ran gold and gems, the salamander which lived among the flames, and the incombustible robes of Prester John himself, which were washed in fire. In this land were no such things as poverty, or robbers, or any vice.

Who was this wonderful monarch? Was he Khitan, Georgian, Mongol, Indian, or Ethiop? Perhaps the best guess is that he was no other than the Georgian prince Ivan, who in 1123 delivered his country out of Moslem hands.

Certainly, mountainous masses of fable were piled up respecting Asia, from the days of Alexander to those of Friar Odoric and Mandeville. But fortunately we have for the period a traveler's tales of a more authentic kind. To Marco Polo the world is indebted — perhaps accidentally rather than through any deliberate bid for fame — for the first mention of Japan, as we have already noted. The account of the land as possessing "endless gold" and "pearls in abundance" is hardly warranted by facts; but the Venetian is accurate enough in

[1] Probably diamonds.

describing the Japanese as a people "civilized, well-favored, and dependent on nobody." The Polos were an old Venetian family, whose name had been inscribed in the *Libro d'Oro*. Andrea Polo had three sons, Marco, Niccolo, and Maffeo. All of these engaged in Oriental commerce, but Marco lived in Constantinople. The other brothers started by way of the Crimea for the East in 1260. At Bokhara they met the emissary sent by Kublai to Hulagu, and concluded to go on to Khan Baligh (Cambaluc).[1] Kublai was delighted with his visitors, and especially interested in hearing about Western religion. It was to obtain preachers of the Christian faith that the brothers returned to Acre in 1269. They found that Pope Clement IV was dead and that no successor had as yet been chosen, so they went on to Venice, and there associated with them the younger Marco, a lad of fifteen. Only two teachers were willing to go to the East and even those presently repented, so the small Venetian company went on alone by way of Balkh, the Pamirs, Kashgar, Yarkand, Khotan, and the Gobi desert. They reached Shangtu (Xanadu)[2] in 1275 and the "young bachelor," as Marco was called, was soon in high favor with the Khan. For three years he was governor of Yangchow,[3] but in course of time he naturally became homesick. Opportunity was not easily found for return, but it came at length when Arghun, grandson of Hulagu, wrote from Persia requesting that a Chinese princess might be sent to become his bride. The lady, *moult bele et avenant*, was chosen, and Marco was the fortunate squire of dames selected to escort her to her bridegroom. The journey lasted two years, and when at last the company reached its goal poor Arghun was dead, possibly of impatience. The lady assuaged her not too extravagant grief by marrying her dead fiancé's son. So all turned out happily, especially as Marco now felt absolved from the

[1] That is, the Palace of the Khan.

[2] Near the present site of Peking, which became the Chinese capital from Mongol times.

[3] In Kiangsu, on the Grand Canal.

necessity of returning to China. On his arrival at Venice in 1295, his identification was effected only after he had torn open the lining of his coat, revealing to astonished eyes the jewels accumulated through the long years of sojourn in Cathay. Marco died in 1324, leaving behind him in China the reputation of a *lohan*,[1] or saint, some say even that of a god. In Europe, through the book so happily preserved, he has become a figure whose picturesqueness remains unaffected by the lapse of time. The book itself is sometimes tantalizingly vague as to the routes taken, but the lack is atoned for by much that is more important than an itinerary. We have, for example, the reference to oil "which is not to be used for seasoning, but for burning in lamps"; the mention of the difficulty of boiling water at high altitudes; references again to the use of coal, the refining of sugar by the use of ashes, "the foolish art of skin embroidery" (tattooing), and the like.

Our gratitude to Marco is not diminished by the reflection that probably other travelers had as romantic a story to tell, if only they had told it. We would give much to have other tales such as would throw light, for instance, on the story of the Jews[2] who settled at Kai-fêng-fu. It would help us not a little to have more light on that great world of international commerce which enabled the biographer of Thomas à Becket to affirm of the London of his time: "To this city from every nation under heaven merchants bring their commodities by sea: —

> "Arabia's gold, Sabæa's spice and incense,
> Scythia's keen weapons, and the oil of palms
> From Babylon's rich soil, Nile's precious gems,
> Sera's rich vestures, and the wine of Gaul
> Are hither sent."

In connection with this international intercourse we must not omit reference to many exchanges between Europe and Asia in the interests of a common civilization. Of these Europe has

[1] The Indian "arhat," one who has earned Nirvana.
[2] See Perlman, *History of the Jews in China.*

not always been sensible. It is not to be doubted that through Marco Polo came about the importation of porcelain, since the city over which Marco ruled was one of the chief channels of traffic with the West. It is fairly certain again that the art of printing owed more to China than to either Faust or Gutenberg. The art certainly goes back to the tenth century in the Far East and Pamphilo Castaldi,[1] who used types of Murano glass in Feltre, expressly speaks of the Chinese printed books which "the famous traveler, Marco Polo," had brought home, and "caused movable wooden types to be made, each type representing a single letter, and with these he printed several broadsides and single leaves at Venice in the year 1426." Much the same may be said of the more doubtfully valuable invention of gunpowder, used by the Mongols at least a century before the supposed discovery by Bernard Schwartz in 1358, though the Chinese preferred to use the explosive for fireworks. Most Orientals were of the opinion of the dandy who pestered Hotspur on the field of Shrewsbury:[2]

> . . . that it was great pity, so it was,
> That villanous salt-petre should be digg'd
> Out of the bowels of the harmless earth,
> Which many a good tall fellow had destroy'd
> So cowardly. . . .

It is easy to see that the Asia of the thirteenth century was not wholly barbarous, and that there is much in the story of the two continents which invites comparison. It is tempting, for instance, to draw a parallel between the great movement of the Franciscans and Dominicans in the West and that wonderful revival of Buddhism in the Far East which produced the four Kamakura sects. These, the Jodo or Pure Land sect, the Zen or sect of Meditation, the Shin, most devoted of all to the doctrine of justification by faith in Amida, and the Nicheren, the revivalist sect founded by the prophet-reformer of that

[1] Yule's Introduction to *Marco Polo*, pp. 139–140. But see T. F. Carter, *The Invention of Printing in China.*

[2] Shakespeare, *King Henry IV*, Part I, 1. 3.

name who had so much to do with arousing the people to the menace of the Mongol invasion — all these have had a remarkable influence upon Japan. There is little direct contact with Western religion to account for these and other interesting parallels, but the wind of the Spirit, which bloweth as it listeth, was surely present in both continents to make their history one.

So, in conclusion, was it with literature. If we pass for a moment from the thirteenth century to its successor, it may be taken for granted that the lover of Geoffrey Chaucer will love no less that fine flower of Kamakura Buddhism who, in his quiet hermitage, produced one of the great little books of the Far East, the *Tzuredzure Gusa* (Random Thoughts) of Kenko.[1] The Western poet is the more virile and optimistic, but we shall surely find in Kenko, as in Chaucer, that touch of nature which makes the whole world kin and binds East and West together more firmly than could the cement of human blood employed by Jenghiz Khan.

It is fitting too, while we have Chaucer in our minds, to recall that the very materials which he and his fellow poets transmuted into the pure gold of literature were materials which travelers and merchants along the great highways of Asia made the common property of mankind. So fitly did the English poet declare to the merchants of his day, "Ye are fathers of tales and tidings both of peace and strife."

[1] Translated by G. B. Sansom, *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, 1911.

CHAPTER VI

BETWEEN THE NEW AND THE OLD

In the present chapter we begin to realize our position as at the end of a great period of Asiatic history. In one direction contact with the West is almost destroyed. It would seem that Europe and Asia are to be separated as never before in their history. But at the same time we discover the beginning of an entirely new epoch, in the course of which that contact is to be restored. We have come to a critical moment when our story passes in a manner quite unmistakable from ancient to modern history. We move from a world contracting itself more and more — through circumstances we shall presently describe — to a world enlarging itself beyond all expectation of earlier ages. This enlargement begins with the discovery of America, but it involves also the rediscovery of Asia. And the end is not yet.

Before we come to the stirring story of the opening of the sea routes to the Far East, it will be necessary to make some brief survey of the story of Asia itself from the fourteenth to the end of the sixteenth century. This will the better enable us to comprehend the magnitude of the revolution which the sixteenth century was to bring about.

In China, as already mentioned, the Mongols failed to hold their own, and were expelled in 1368 by a new native dynasty known as the Ming, or "illustrious," dynasty. The story of the ex-Buddhist monk, turned bandit, who, almost without appreciating the magnitude of his success, drove the foreigners out of China and set up the Dragon Throne at Nanking, is a

romance which no visitor to the southern capital in sight of the Purple Mountain,[1] or making pilgrimage to the tomb of Hung Wu, is likely to forget. The Beggar King, as Hung Wu is often called, soon restored everything Chinese which had been temporarily obscured. He compelled the use of Chinese dress, introduced the eight-legged essay[2] into the examination system, reëstablished schools and libraries, and encouraged the arts and industries. He was liberal to his old friends the Buddhist priests, and also to the common soldiers, whom he is said to have provided with fur coats for their winter campaigns. Altogether his thirty years' reign was a very prosperous one. On Hung Wu's death, a fourth son, the Duke of Yen, usurped the throne from a grandson whom the late Emperor had designated as his heir. The usurper, known as Yung Lo,[3] was an able though unscrupulous ruler, chiefly famous for his desertion of Nanking in a fit of temper and return to Peking, which became again the capital. Most of the glory of Peking, such as the Forbidden City, the Temple of Heaven, and other things which make the northern capital attractive to strangers, are the work of Yung Lo.

Although the Mings had secured with ease the turning back of China's stream of life into the old channels, it soon became painfully evident that the "mandate of Heaven" was slipping from their incompetent grasp. For much of the decadence eunuch rule must be held responsible. But the country was shaken also by the arrival of the foreigners in the south, in the persons of the first Portuguese sailors to find a Chinese port.[4] Some years later, when the dynasty was already tottering to its fall, the Manchus were making raids across the frontier and anxiously awaiting their chance to invade in force.

[1] So called because of the many colors seen, or imagined, in certain aspects. The colors are said to be due to treasure in the heart of the mountain.

[2] The *wên chang*, so called because divided into eight heads in a very artificial way.

[3] 1403–25 A.D.

[4] In 1516.

It should here be said that the Manchus[1] were a tribe of Tatars, not essentially differing from the Chins whose conquest of the north had preceded the Mongol invasion. In the middle of the sixteenth century a great leader was born, who was destined to give the Manchus a larger place in history than they had hitherto held. Nurhachu,[2] who possessed himself of the present three provinces of Manchuria, fixed his capital at Mukden,[3] and began to cast covetous eyes upon the territory to the south. He invited conflict by promulgating the famous document of the Seven Hates, in which the main grounds of his quarrel with China were vigorously set forth. A copy of the document, moreover, was burned, in order to file it for reference with the ancestors. Nurhachu would undoubtedly at this time have invaded China, but his death in 1627 frustrated the desire. The fall of the Mings, it is to be remembered, came about not through the attack of a foreign enemy, but from the rebellion of the one-eyed bandit, Li Tze-ch'êng, who attacked Peking in 1644 and endeavored to set up what he called the Great Obedient[4] dynasty. The last of the Mings consulted the lots in the temple and found only occasion for despair. Visitors to Peking will not fail to note the prominent hill within the Forbidden City called Mei-shan, or Coal Hill.[5] Here it was that the desperate Emperor committed suicide, after writing upon the lapel of his robe an edict to this effect: "Do with my body as you will, but spare the people." It was when the news of this tragedy reached Wu San-kwei,[6] the commander-in-chief of the Chinese army, that he gave the word which admitted the Manchu into the heritage of the sons of Han. It is still a matter vigorously debated whether Wu is to be considered the first of patriots or the most despicable of traitors.

[1] The word signifies "pure." Earlier names for the Manchus are Nu-chĕns and Nu-chĭhs.

[2] Nurhachu's reign-name is T'ien Ming.

[3] Mukden is known by the Chinese as Fêng-t'ien.

[4] Or Ta Shun.

[5] So called because of the belief that Yung Lo had concealed in the hill a vast supply of coal for an emergency.

[6] Wu died a rebel against the Manchu power in 1678.

As for Japan during all these years, events of the greatest moment had been taking place. The burning of Kamakura in 1333[1] had destroyed the power of the Hojo Regents, and was intended to bring about the restoration of the emperors to their ancient status; but the restored Emperor Go Daigo[2] was not wise enough to use his opportunity to good effect. The result was that the restoration lasted only two years, yet even this was long enough to prove the incapacity of the monarch for whom patriots had made prodigious sacrifices. Two men especially, Nitta Yoshisada and Kusonoki Masashige, were put in a position from which self-destruction, in one form or another, — according to the ethics of the time, — seemed the only outlet. On the other hand, the ambitious scion of the Minamoto house, Ashikaga Takauji, who, unworthy as he was, had been specially favored by Go Daigo, repaid his patron by founding a new line of Shoguns. The Ashikaga Shogunate lasted actually from 1335 to 1573, a period of nearly two hundred and fifty years. During this time Japan was governed mainly by the Ashikaga Code,[3] or the house-laws of that particular clan. It was a period of luxury and extravagance on the part of the Shoguns, of poverty and sometimes actual want on the part of the emperors,[4] and of desperate misery and frequent famine on the part of the people. The extravagance of the Ashikagas, as in the building of the Gold and Silver Pavilions[5] at Kyoto, led also to an ignominious endeavor to borrow money from China. This act was never forgiven by the Japanese people, since the attempt to secure a loan was coincident with an apparent willingness to accept for Japan the position of a nation subject to the Middle Kingdom.

As in the case of the Ming dynasty in China, so in the case

[1] By Nitta Yoshisada.

[2] The prefix "Go" in the name of an emperor signifies "after." Go Daigo is therefore the After Daigo, or Daigo the Second.

[3] See "The Ashikaga Code," J. C. Hall, *Trans. As. Soc. Jap.*

[4] One emperor is said to have supported himself by writing and selling autographs.

[5] The Golden Pavilion, or Kinkaku-ji, was erected in 1417 by Ashikaga Yoshimitsu. The Silver Pavilion was built by Yoshimasa in 1474.

of the Ashikaga Shogunate of Japan, one of the great events of the closing years was the arrival of the Portuguese,[1] to which further reference will be made. A generation later, in 1573, the Emperor summoned up courage to ask Oda Nobunaga,[2] a brilliant soldier of the epoch, to depose the fifteenth of the Ashikaga Shoguns. Nobunaga achieved his end, though after a serious struggle with the Buddhists, a struggle which included a massacre of the monks of Hiyeisan. But in 1582 the new military dictator, whose fondness for practical jokes sometimes offended the dignity of his subordinates, was taken at a disadvantage by one of his disgruntled lieutenants, Akechi Mitsuhide, and reduced to the necessity of suicide. Akechi is known as the "Three-days' Shogun." No longer tenure of office was permitted him, for another of Nobunaga's lieutenants was Japan's most famous soldier among them all, Toyotomi Hideyoshi.[3] This remarkable man himself narrowly escaped Akechi's snare, but a Buddhist temple hard by gave him the chance to shave his head and conceal himself among a bathful of bonzes till the arrival of his soldiers. Then Hideyoshi lost no time in destroying the upstart and at the same time, certainly by some evasion of his obligation to the house of Oda, to possess himself of the dictatorship of Japan. Hideyoshi could not become Shogun, since he was not of the privileged Minamoto stock. But the very absence of hereditary claim emphasizes the more his preëminence. Hideyoshi was in fact one of the very greatest men Japan, perhaps even Asia, has ever produced. Of lowly parentage, of uncouth manner and ugly countenance, — "Monkey-face" [4] was one of the names by which he was known, — a scapegrace during boyhood who severely tried the optimism of his mother, he yet became by sheer ability the master of the destinies of Japan. He was considerate and tactful in dealing with his superiors in rank; in beating an enemy he always knew the right place for the "saving of face." "The stars themselves were not more

[1] In 1542.
[2] 1534–82.
[3] 1536–98.
[4] That is, "Sarumen-kanja."

punctual than his arithmetic." In everything that Hideyoshi personally superintended he succeeded. The only great failure of his career was the campaign he was obliged to entrust to others. This was the war with China and Korea.[1] The causes for this unfortunate enterprise were various. There was Hideyoshi's offended dignity, since the Koreans sent no tribute in testimony of his greatness. There was grief over the death of a favorite child, which sought an outlet in doing something. There was the desire to prevent the army growing stale through a period of domestic peace. There was probably also a long-cherished ambition to become Emperor of China. The task, he affirmed, was as easy as rolling up a mat and carrying it off under one's arm. It proved, however, a little more difficult than had been anticipated. The failure came through the inability of the Japanese to keep open their sea communications. A famous Korean admiral, using ironclads[2] for the first time in history, easily sank whatever transports he encountered. The land campaign, carried on by two generals, one a Christian and the other a Buddhist, was successful so far as the battles were concerned; but neither Konishi Yukinaga,[3] the Christian, nor Kato Kiyomasa,[4] the *vir ter execrandus* of the Jesuits, was able to keep his soldiers from starving when the commissariat failed to arrive. Once the operations were halted by a subtle attempt on the part of the Chinese to deceive Hideyoshi into the belief that he would be recognized as a ruler, but the subterfuge was detected and warfare was resumed. Hideyoshi's death in 1598 brought about a truce. The last words of the Taiko Sama[5] were: "Don't let my soldiers be made ghosts in Korea." Little advantage came to Japan from this inconclusive struggle. Many barrels of pickled ears and noses were brought back to

[1] 1587–98.

[2] See Ballard, *op. cit.*

[3] Beheaded after the battle of Sekigahara. As a Christian, Konishi refused to commit suicide.

[4] Also died for the cause of Hideyori, the son of Hideyoshi.

[5] Title of an ex-regent, adopted by Hideyoshi after his cession of the regency to his nephew Hidetsugu.

make the mimizuka or "ear-mound" at Kyoto; some advance was made by the Satsuma clan through the introduction of Korean potters; but the old contest as to the relation of Korea to China and Japan respectively was laid aside for settlement at a later date.

Hideyoshi's son[1] was pushed out of the succession, and still another of Nobunaga's generals, Tokugawa Iyeyasu, stepped into power. His accession inaugurates the important period of the Tokugawa Shogunate.[2] It will perhaps fix the characters of three famous soldiers in the memory of readers if we give here the epigrams ascribed to each, in the form of three hokku (seventeen-syllabled Japanese poems).

Nobunaga's poem runs: "If the cuckoo will not sing, I will kill him."

Hideyoshi's: "If the cuckoo will not sing, I will teach him."

Iyeyasu's: "If the cuckoo will not sing, I will wait till he does."

Now we must cast our vision further over continental Asia, to complete the general view that is necessary before we describe the coming of the foreigner. It is important also to understand the circumstances which led the foreigners to adventure by sea rather than by the accustomed land-routes. This can be clear only as we appreciate the steps by which the Ottoman Turk, "the most dangerous child that ever issued from the womb of Islam," appears in the historic limelight.

Quite obscure are the beginnings of that race which still maintains in a shrunken corner of Europe the ideals of inner Asia. Of these beginnings it has been said "there lack even plausible legends." A few nomads swooping here and there upon some desirable territory and annexing the women with the land soon gave rise to so much racial intermixture, even apart from the organization of Janizary troops by the conscription of Christian youths, that the term "Turk," as

[1] Hideyori, a minor at the time of Iyeyasu's usurpation. Afterwards besieged in the castle of Osaka and compelled to commit suicide.

[2] 1600–1867.

applied to the olla-podrida of nations often included in the term, must be regarded as a symbol rather than a definition. Whatever their precise origin, the Ottoman Turks, as distinguished from the Seljuks, first emerge in history as a small horde, pressed by the Mongol armies on the east, led by Solyman Shah westward across the Euphrates. They were at first refused hospitality by the Seljuks of Asia Minor, and so turned again to the east. But when Solyman was drowned in crossing the river his followers took it as an omen, and declined to proceed further in that direction. Solyman's son Ertoghrul was soon after able to intervene effectively in a fight between the Mongol forces and the Seljuk Sultan on the side of the latter, with the result that the grateful Aladdin, saved from what appeared to be certain destruction, bestowed upon him a not too infertile region in Northern Phrygia, along the shores of the Black Sea. Here the Turk began that process of transforming himself from a nomad to a candidate for established empire. Here Ertoghrul's son Osman, from whom the Ottoman — or Osmanli — Turks take their name, dreamed a dream wherein he saw a great tree growing out of his own body, whose branches spread to every point of the compass. Beneath this tree the four great mountains of the earth were shadowed, and from its roots flowed the four streams of Tigris, Euphrates, Danube, and Nile. It need hardly be said that Osman did his best to translate the dream into reality, especially as the Seljuks in 1300 were about at the end of their tether. With success in battle, with free intermingling of the invaders and their Christian slaves, male and female, and with conversion to the fanatical support of Islam, the Ottoman Turks were now on the highroad to accomplishment as empire builders.

Osman I lived to seize for his capital Brusa, a city within easy reach of Constantinople, the metropolis of his Greek neighbors. In fact, before Osman's successor, Orchan I, died in 1359, the Greeks were completely driven out of Asia Minor, and the invaders had even tried their troops in warfare on European soil. It was in 1353 that the pretender Kantaku-

zenos invited the Turks to assist him in the struggle he was waging against Andronicus III. Though popular fury presently drove the usurper to abdicate, the Turks did not lose their vantage, and there was so little unity of purpose among the Christian communities that no steps were taken against the common foe. The Venetians were much too jealous of the trade of their rivals at Constantinople to lend aid to the Greeks. So it came to pass that the success of Murad I (Amurath) in capturing the city of Adrianople, and the fixing of the capital there, showed plainly that the Turks had come to Europe to stay. Though it is not for us to describe the struggle in Europe, it must nevertheless be noted that the battle of Kossova in 1389 was a clear prediction of the fate which awaited Constantinople in 1453.

We must now turn back to Central Asia to discover how it came to pass that a check came to Turkish dominion from the east rather than from the west. In 1336 there was born in the city of Kesh, fifty miles south of Samarkand, the man who aspired, in bloody fame, to be a second edition of Jenghiz Khan. This was Timur-i-Leng, or Timur the Lame, a descendant of a minister of Jenghiz's son and successor Ogdai. An early convert to Islam, he soon aspired to the leadership of the incomparable Mongol cavalry. In 1358 we find him heading raids into the neighboring territory, and as soon as he succeeded his father in the control of his clan he began from his capital, Samarkand, to spread devastation over Central Asia, India, and Eastern Europe. During thirty years of unremitting warfare, Timur broke the power of Toktamish, leader of the Golden Horde, and led an expedition into India, forcing the passage of the Indus and fighting a bloody battle before Delhi. But one of his greatest exploits was the last. The Ottoman Sultan at this time was Bayazid, known also as Yilderim, or Lightning, from the rapidity of his movements. He had succeeded his father Murad on the latter's assassination upon the field of Kossova, and soon after had defeated the chivalry of the West in the battle of Nicopoli. He was already boasting of the

further conquests he was contemplating — among others, that he would feed his horses with oats from Saint Peter's altar at Rome. Then the news came that the Mongol was entering Asia Minor. This was in 1400, and the invasion developed so rapidly that Aleppo and Damascus were taken and sacked before the Turkish Sultan could engage Timur in battle. A tremendous encounter took place at Angora, July 20, 1402, in which the terror of Indian elephants was added to the bloody fame of the Sultan of Samarkand. The result was Bayazid's total defeat. The Turk was taken prisoner and, according to some accounts, carried about in a cage to gratify the gloating malice of the victor. The fallen monarch survived his defeat only eight months, and Timur himself, planning an invasion of China, died of a fever soon after, in February 1405. The body was embalmed "with musk and rose water, wrapped in linen, laid in an ebony coffin, and sent to Samarkand, where it was buried."

So Constantinople was for fifty years spared the humiliation of capture by the Turks. We shall soon have to return to them and their doings, but must say something first of the general situation in Asia during the period.

Timur's conquests extended over most of the lands which in later centuries became part of Asiatic Russia, but his successors, the Timurids, were really Shahs of Persia from 1405 to 1499. The most notable of these was Shah Rukh, who reigned for thirty-eight years. He was a brave, generous, and enlightened prince, presiding over a learned court. During this reign an embassy was sent as far as to China. In the time of a successor, Uzun Hassan, we find in the court representatives of Europe in the persons of Zeno, Barbaro, and Contarini. These men came from Venice to request help in the war against the Ottomans.

The Sufi[1] dynasty followed the Timurids in Persia and maintained its sway till 1736. The monarchs of this line were, as their name implies, strongly devoted to Muhammadan

[1] Sufi is derived from "suf," wool, since the early Sufis claimed to live the simple life and wore garments of wool.

The Great Moghul, Babar, on His Way to Battle

mysticism, and were at the same time fanatical adherents of the Shiite party — a schism going back, as we have seen, to the time of Ali and his sons. During the entire period, as Sir John Malcolm[1] testifies, "the Persians were enthusiastically devoted to poetry." We have several great rulers of Persia in this line, of whom, however, we must only mention Ismail I, who fought a great battle with the Turkish Sultan Selim I in 1514, and received envoys from the first Portuguese Viceroy, Albuquerque, in the East; Shah Tamasp, during whose reign Anthony Jenkinson arrived with letters from Queen Elizabeth, to treat of "Trafique and Commerce from our English merchants"; and the greatest of all Persian rulers, Shah Abbas, who reigned forty-two years and received envoys from England, Russia, Spain, Portugal, Holland, and India.

Of India a few words are necessary to fill the gap between the invasion of Timur and the coming of the Portuguese in 1498. Sixth in descent from Timur, with the blood of both Jenghiz and Timur in his veins, was born in 1483 Babar, destined to be the founder of the Moghul[2] Empire of India. At the age of eleven he found himself king of Farghana on the Jaxartes and already climbing the rocky ascent to an imperial throne. Treacherous chiefs and mutinous retainers twice led to his becoming a homeless exile, and twenty years elapsed between the crowning of Babar as king of Kabul and his start for the conquest of the Panjab. "From that time," he says in his memoir, "I devoted myself particularly to the affairs of Hindustan, and in the space of these seven or eight years entered it five times at the head of an army." The final invasion was in 1525, and in 1526 was fought the great battle of Panipat[3] — scene of decisive conflicts in the history of India no less than three several times. The treasures of Delhi and Agra, secured by the victory, were immense, and among these Babar's son brought his father the diamond which is now,

[1] Indian administrator and diplomatist, 1769–1833.
[2] "Moghul" is only another form of "Mongol."
[3] Fifty-three miles north of Delhi.

supposedly, the Koh-i-nur,[1] the most resplendent jewel in the British crown. Mongol invaders of India had usually been glad to retire after securing their loot, but in this case Babar resisted the desire of his soldiers for the cooler airs of Kabul in his determination to make his conquest secure. He took oath upon the Quran and said:

> "With fame, though I die, I am content;
> Let fame be mine, though life be spent."

So the first Great Moghul stayed to beat the Rana Sanga, to overcome Afghans and Bengalis, and to order the administration of his new realm. He died, after thirty-six years of kingship, in his forty-eighth year, at Agra on Dec. 30, 1530, and was taken for burial to his "sweetest spot" at Kabul. People still flock to the mosque erected over the grave to commemorate the founder of the Moghul Empire.

Babar was succeeded by his son Humayun, whose name, the Fortunate, was scarcely reflected in his destiny. Humayun was a man of considerable military skill and of fine character, but he suffered, in common with many another of his house, from intrigues within the family, from rebellion in various parts of the conquered territory, and even from his successes, since the very vastness of the loot taken in his victory over Gujerat demoralized the conquerors. Defeated by Sher Shah of Bengal, Humayun was for some fifteen years a wanderer, sometimes in the deserts of Rajputana and Sind, for a while a not very welcome guest of Shah Tamasp in the Persian court. Then came the reconquest of the Panjab from his brothers, and, after the death of Sher Shah, a fresh invasion of India proper. Delhi and Agra were taken, and Humayun was just reorganizing the recovered territory when his unlucky star caused him to slip on the polished steps of his Delhi palace, with fatal results. It is interesting to note that, when the last of the Moghuls, Shah Alam, surrendered to Hodson of Hodson's

[1] That is, "Mountain of Light."

Horse after the Mutiny, the scene of the capitulation was the tomb of Humayun.

More fortunate was Humayun in the son who became his heir than in the events of his own reign. Akbar the Great, who carries us over the remainder of the sixteenth century, reigning from 1556 to 1605, — contemporaneously with Queen Elizabeth, — brings us to the Golden Age of the Great Moghuls. But it took twenty years of hard fighting for one who started out as a boy of thirteen to conquer Hindustan, and to the day of his death the emperor seldom knew a year without war. He once again at Panipat decided the fate of India, as did his grandfather Babar and (two and a half centuries later) the English. But Akbar devoted himself as sincerely and strenuously to the welfare of his realm as to its conquest. He forbade child-marriage and compulsory widow-burning (sati), also the use of animal sacrifices. He made a Domesday Book of the Moghul Empire, and reformed the land-tax. He built that most beautiful "city of victory," Fatehpur, now deserted, as Stanley Lane-Poole describes it, "the silent witness of a vanished dream." Even five years after Akbar's death William Finch[1] found it "ruinate, lying like a waste district, and very dangerous to pass through at night." In religion Akbar was an eclectic. He listened to the words of Jesuit fathers and Hindu ascetics, as well as to the admonitions of the doctors of Islam. Tennyson has given a fine picture of the Moghul Emperor's dream of a religion wide enough to embrace all the creeds[2]:

> Adoring That who made, and makes, and is,
> And is not, what I gaze on — all else Form,
> Ritual varying with the tribes of men.

In order to find out what the natural faith of the untaught child would be, he made the curious experiment of separating a number of babies from all other human contact for several

[1] Agent of an expedition sent out in 1607 by the East India Company to treat with the Great Moghul. Died at Aleppo, 1613.

[2] *Akbar's Dream.*

years. When, however, the children were released, in the expectation that they must have evolved by themselves a natural and reasonable faith, free from the sophisms of their elders, they were found to be — just dumb.

In his last years Akbar suffered from many disillusionments more serious than this last. Perhaps the crowning sorrow was the murder of his faithful friend and minister, Abu'l Fazl. Stanley Lane-Poole describes the end as follows: "The quarrels and intrigues of his worthless family hastened the end. . . . Round the bed of the dying Akbar the intrigues for the succession went on shamelessly, but at the last he received his only surviving son, Salim, and invested him with the Sword of State. He died in October 1605, the noblest king that ever ruled in India."

We have now the stage set sufficiently to tell, as briefly as may be, the romantic story of the return of Europe to the Far East by way of the sea.

CHAPTER VII

OPENING THE SEA ROUTES TO ASIA

One of the commonest historical generalizations is that the extension of the Turkish dominions closed the old land-routes and so necessitated the new era of Oceanic experiment and discovery. It is well, however, to be cautious lest we exaggerate the connection of these two events. There were travelers who still continued to press on toward the East through the territory of the Ottoman. On the other hand, there were efforts made in the direction of opening the sea-routes considerably prior to the advent of the Turk. Even after the conquest of the Mediterranean, trade was carried on by the merchants of Genoa and Venice through the medium of the Arab.

Nevertheless, the generalization alluded to is in substance correct. Across the barrier placed by the Ottoman on the ancient highways we do find the trade gradually diminishing and at length reduced practically to zero. The route to the north of the Black Sea was closed by the beginning of the fifteenth century. When Timur drove the Knights Hospitalers from Tunis to Rhodes in 1403, the same fate befell the road which ran through Syria. In 1483 followed the closing of the route by the Black Sea itself. There remained the old Indo-Egyptian route which had been important since long before Roman times. This was imperiled by the growth of the Ottoman navy and the siege of Rhodes in 1480, but continued in use till the conquest of Egypt by Sultan Selim in 1516. The immediate result of this victory was that Venice and Genoa found ruin staring them in the face, while the cities of the

Hanseatic League also felt the change. "Grass grew in the fair and pleasant streets of Bruges and seaweed clustered about the marble halls of Venice."

So, with whatever qualifications we may think necessary, the general truth is that by the sixteenth century all the land roads to the East were either closed or else rendered so precarious by the Ottoman occupation that those who sought the line of least resistance were inevitably inclined to seek a way to Cathay by sea. Trade with the Osmanli at this time was, of course, small in volume, though Elizabeth of England made her commercial treaty with the Turk in 1579 and sought assistance from the invaders in her war against the Spanish "idolaters."

Thus was the way opened for a new era in the history of civilization. With the lure of the Orient as glamorous as ever, it was incredible that no one should put forth effort to reach the desired goal. It may be said that in all the many expeditions of this prolific period of adventure, whether men went east or west, northeast or northwest, southeast or southwest, the fascinating narrative of Marco Polo was still the spell which held their thoughts toward China and the East.

In this epoch, splendid at once in opportunity, incentive, and achievement, it was given to one country to take the lead, and in that country one personality was the primary inspiration. This country was Portugal, the classic Lusitania.[1] Her geographic position, facing the Atlantic, was itself a challenge. In the thunderous roll of the Atlantic waves was a constant call to the adventurous task which had in part been wrested by fate from Genoa and Venice and in part relinquished as a result of the shortsighted selfishness of the Mediterranean seaports. Through such an instrument as Portugal history makes the transition from the thalassic to the oceanic stage — from the old era of empire around the shores of an inland sea to empire challenging the risks and opportunities of the vaster outlook.

[1] So called from Lusus, who colonized it.

> The Genius then,
> Of navigation, that in hopeless sloth
> Had slumbered on the vast Atlantic deep
> For idle ages, starting, heard at last
> The Lusitanian Prince, who, heaven-inspired
> To love of useful glory roused mankind,
> And in unbounded commerce mixed the world.

The great protagonist of this transition, Prince Henry of Portugal, is more adequately known to fame as Henry the Navigator. Of course the heroic age of Portugal's sea supremacy is indebted to more than the influence of a single figure. There was the commercial lesson already taught by the enterprise of the Moors along the African coast. There was the long period of national prosperity under the five extended reigns of John and his successors from 1385 to 1521. There was, again, the influence of the commercial treaty with England. It was in connection with this that John, Duke of Gaunt, son of King Edward III — Shakespeare's "Old John of Gaunt, time-honoured Lancaster,"[1] came with his two daughters to the Peninsula. With much forethought, political as well as paternal, he married the one to the heir of Castile and the other to John of Portugal, sagely stipulating that, as a condition of these alliances, the two sons-in-law should sign a truce. Of the eight sons born to John and his English wife the most illustrious was Prince Henry, born on Ash Wednesday, 1394. From his boyhood this pioneer of ocean traffic, without the spur of the Turkish menace, — not as yet apparent, — saw the future of his country on the seas. He studied the methods of the Moors, and in 1418, at the age of twenty-four, made what might be called his great renunciation in the interest of the cause he had taken to his heart. Making a home on the wind-swept promontory of Sagres, at the southern extremity of Portugal, he there established an observatory, an arsenal, and a school for the teaching of navigation, mathematics, and cartography. Thence he sent out expedition after expedition, such as resulted

[1] *Richard II.*

in the discovery of the Azores, the Canary Islands, and the Cape Verde Islands. Yet all the while his eyes were fixed upon a more distant goal. On efforts to realize this he spent his entire fortune, and he died in 1460, an example of single-minded devotion to a great purpose to which few parallels exist. Henry the Navigator was buried beside his beautiful English mother at Batalha, and on his tomb the insignia of the Garter are entwined with those of the Order of Christ, together with his own suggestive motto: *Talent de bien faire.*

Never was better illustration than in the career of Prince Henry of the saying that one soweth and another reapeth. The work of the school of Sagres went on as though the spirit of its dead director was still its living inspiration. So follows the story of Bartolomeo Diaz and the discovery of Cabo Tormentosa in 1486. But "No!" cried John II, "Call it not Cape of Storms — call it Cape of Good Hope, since now at last lies open the way to the Indies!" It should be remembered that it was this voyage of Diaz which suggested to Columbus an even shorter way to India. For long, weary years the Genoese sailor hawked about the courts of Europe his "soul's surmise." But for once, Portugal, less prescient than of wont, missed her chance.

A little later comes the truly epic story of Vasco da Gama and the circumnavigation of Africa. The tradition may be reliable which ascribes the first performance of this feat to Pharaoh Necho in 617 B.C. That story was anciently discredited on the very grounds which now seem to recommend it, namely, that the sun rose on the voyager's left during one half the journey and during the other half on the right. In any case, the Egyptian tradition detracts little or nothing from the general importance of Da Gama's achievement. The Portuguese ships left the Tagus in July 1497, and on May 20, 1498, arrived at Calicut on the Malabar coast. So the foundations were laid of the first European dominion in the Orient since the days of Alexander. Of that dominion to-day there is but a mean survival in Goa, Daman, Diu, Macao, and Eastern

Timor; but the sorry result must not mislead us in judging of the events of four centuries ago.

The story has been alluded to as epical. The adjective is doubly valid, since Da Gama's exploit produced not only an empire but an epic, in the immortal work of Camoens. *The Lusiads*[1] are in very truth the epic of East and West, and the poet deserves his tribute in connection with our theme as well as in connection with the literature of his native land. Born in 1524–25, Camoens was exiled — first of all, on account of an unfortunate love-affair, and, secondly, for some political offense — to Ceuta. For a third offense he was banished to the overseas dominion of India, and left his country with the bitter words: "*Ingrata patria, non possedebis ossa mea.*" After three years at Goa, the poet was ordered to Macao, and there wrote the first six cantos of the Portuguese epic of adventure. Returning, he suffered shipwreck, only saving his precious manuscript by holding it above the waves. The finished poem was printed in 1572, but so meagre were the rewards of authorship that the poet's Javanese servant had to beg in order to keep his master alive. There is much that is ironical in the fact that, so little did Europe appreciate what was owing to the bard of a new era, it was not till 1867 that a statue of Camoens was erected in the capital of his native land. Yet it is largely through the writings of Camoens that we are able to envisage clearly the relations of East and West as they must have appeared to the navigators of the sixteenth century. It was a world of antagonisms championed by antagonistic deities. The East is under the ægis of the Indian Bacchus. The West is the protégé of the Cyprian goddess who had herself risen from the Mediterranean waves, the goddess whose human offspring had left the ruins of Troy to found in the West the state of Rome and dispatch the first colony to the Lusitanian shore.

The Portuguese were happy in the place of their first appearance in India. They did not land to confront the armies of the

[1] *The Lusiads* may be most conveniently read in Mickle's excellent English version, itself a classic.

Great Moghul. On the other hand, they do not seem to have concerned themselves with the civilization of the people upon whom they had intruded. The natives were "raging Moors . . . treacherous pagans."

> Unknown their tongue, their face, their strange attire,
> And their bold eyeballs burned with warlike ire.

There is no hint in Camoens of the India of the time, which was fermenting with the ardor of the Vaishnavite revival. It would have been interesting could there have drifted to us through the Portuguese poet some touch of the genius of that Indian poetry which was at the time so vocal in the work of Ramanuja, Vallabha, Madhava, and Chaitanya. But no echoes of the gracious genius of these, or of Ramananda,[1] reached the soul of Da Gama or the ears of his historian. Far less did there come from the Panjab an echo of the doctrine of the great Sikh founder, Nanak,[2] a contemporary of the Portuguese explorers, or of the songs of Kabir, whose mortal remains, transformed into a heap of flowers, were precious alike to Muhammadan and Hindu.

The first contact of the Portuguese with India was quite material, if not altogether sordid. They seem to have dealt only with two or three petty rajahs who occupied the narrow strip along the shore between the Western Ghats and the sea. Calicut, the first settlement, is really Kolicutta, "Cock-fort," so called because the limits of the place were fixed by the distance to which a cock-crowing could be heard from the principal temple. Portuguese India was never very large, since the true dominion of the Peninsula kingdom was on the seas. The King of Portugal, nevertheless, used the high-sounding title of "King of Portugal and Lord of the Indies." He allowed, moreover, to Da Gama the dignity of "Lord of the Conquest, Navigation,

[1] For the Vaishnavite poets mentioned, see Frazer's *Literary History of India*, also L. D. Barnett's *The Heart of India*.

[2] Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion, a kind of blend of the more spiritual features of Hinduism and Muhammadanism, was born in 1469.

and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India." It was probably only ignorance which at this time omitted China.

The record of Portuguese success, stained as it is with unspeakable cruelties, is no pleasing story, but it included several developments. We find such well-marked stages as the use of ships as floating "factories," the use of shore agencies, the establishment of forts and garrisons, and naval campaigns undertaken against the Arab traders — all this before the sending of the first governor in 1505. The greatest of the early governors was Alfonso de Albuquerque,[1] who held the appointment from 1509 to 1515. He was so choleric that his captains, in making complaint, said: "Sir, we do this in writing because by word of mouth we dare not, as you always answer us so passionately." But he could also be chivalrous, as in his treatment of Almeida who preceded him. Albuquerque served Portugal through years of "magnificent projects and of heroic accomplishments," acquiring Goa, and doing much to make the Indian Ocean a Christian rather than a Moslem highway. But he was superseded at last, and said: "In bad repute with men because of the king, and in bad repute with the king because of men, it were well that I were gone." Nevertheless, "giving many thanks unto the Lord," he died not unregretted in December 1515.

The course of Portuguese empire was determined eastward, as was that of Spain westward, by the bull of Pope Alexander VI. In order to reconcile the conflicting ambitions of the two Iberian Powers, the Pope promulgated on May 4, 1493, the famous decision allocating to Spain all west and south of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands, and to Portugal all the rest. The division was in some respects modified by later bulls, but confirmed substantially as a kind of generally accepted international law. Papal bulls were then the title deeds of nations, and Portugal was well content with the somewhat vague bequest of all to the east — "*usque ad Indos*."

[1] Born 1453 and died 1515. At his tomb in Goa, Hindus and Muhammadans were wont to pray, invoking protection against the injustice of his successors.

In 1511 the Portuguese pushed their dominions from India to Malacca,[1] a town on the west coast of the Malay peninsula. It had probably been visited by the Portuguese earlier, but in 1509 an attempt was made to capture it by Diego Lopez de Siqueira, who went out from Portugal expressly for the purpose. This attempt was unsuccessful, and it was not till 1511 that the great Albuquerque himself attacked and captured it. Malacca remained a Portuguese possession for a hundred and thirty years, during which time it was attacked by Achinese, English, and Dutch. The latter held it till 1795, when it was transferred to Great Britain. Learning that the Malays were appealing to the Emperor of China as their suzerain lord, Raphael Perestrello went on a prospecting expedition toward the east, and so gained the prestige of being the first Portuguese to visit the Middle Kingdom. Next year a visit in force was made, with Canton as the objective, by a squadron under Ferdinand d'Andrade, accompanied by an envoy from the King of Portugal. The Arabs, who saw their trade monopoly with China endangered, did their best to discredit the newcomers. The envoy was imprisoned, and died in Canton in 1523. But much of the trouble which came to these first Portuguese arrivals in China they brought upon themselves. Their rapaciousness was such that in 1545 the entire colony at Ningpo was wiped out by massacre. The survivors assembled on a small island near Macao, and in 1557 obtained permission to use the latter place for drying-sheds; so Macao, part of the island of San Chuan, became a Portuguese settlement, for which, however, rent continued to be paid till 1848. Portuguese possession was finally recognized in 1887.

It was in 1542 that a junk with three Portuguese sailors on board, on their way from Macao to Siam, was blown out of its course and for the first time made actual contact between Europe and Japan. The newcomers stayed just long enough to teach the natives the use of firearms, a lesson all too thor-

[1] From "melāka," a kind of jungle fruit.

oughly appreciated. Two or three years later came Mendez Pinto, to whom the original discovery is sometimes attributed. Pinto's confessed habit of saying things "to fit the humor rather than the truth" obliges us to discount some of those sayings. Indeed, the title *Mendax* has been thought by some to suit him better than the name Mendez. As to whether he healed a Japanese prince of gout and cured a son of the same notability of a gunshot wound we may, under the circumstances, remain unconvinced. But Pinto certainly came again in 1547 and after that visit carried away with him two Japanese, one of whom, Anjiro, or Yajiro, was destined to influence the career of Saint Francis Xavier. Before the arrival of Xavier, the ships of the Portuguese seem to have become fairly numerous in Japanese waters, and there was considerable rivalry among the feudal chiefs for the privilege of trading with the foreigners.

In connection with the story of Japan and that of China alike the career of Xavier is as important as it is romantic. Born in 1506 in his mother's castle at the foot of the Pyrenees, Francisco de Xavier was one of those individuals marked out from his youth for leadership. Yet his career really begins with an act of submission to the compelling influence of Ignatius de Loyola, founder of the Jesuit Order. Xavier was one of the original members of the Company of Jesus, and took the vows of the Order in 1534. In 1541 he sailed from Lisbon for Goa and Travancore, where he spent many months in self-denying and fruitful labor. Thence he proceeded to Malacca, where he found the natives "barbarous and vicious." But a providential meeting with the above-mentioned Yajiro directed his thoughts to Japan where the Portuguese had in a measure prepared the way, and whence — probably through the Prince of Bungo — the missionary is said to have received an invitation. Yajiro was baptized under the name of Paul, and with Xavier and Father Fernandez landed at Kagoshima August 15, 1549. For some twenty-seven months the evangelists labored indefatigably, making visits to Hirado, Yamaguchi, and Kyoto.

At the capital they had small success, as was to be expected in the Buddhist stronghold, but in Kyushu, the southern island, the number of converts was large. How far the chiefs encouraged the preaching of the new faith to secure commercial advantage, how far Xavier's work was marred by bigotry and intolerance on the one hand and by vain ecclesiastical pomp on the other, and how far the gospel message, interpreted imperfectly no doubt by Yajiro, was understood by the converts — all these questions are still open for debate. Facts which are incontestable are that the personality of the great missionary made an indelible impression on Japan, and that a large number of the converts were sufficiently in earnest to pass unshaken through the fiery baptism of persecution which followed. The Japanese made a very favorable impression on the Jesuit. "As far as I can judge," he writes, "the Japanese surpass in virtue and probity all people hitherto discovered. Their character is gentle. They are no tricksters, and they reckon honor to be superior to everything else. There is a great deal of poverty in the islands. The Japanese dislike poverty, but are not ashamed of it."

"The Apostle of the Indies" left Japan on November 20, 1551, on his return to Goa, feeling that he was needed in India. He had also determined upon a visit to China, whose conversion he believed would inevitably bring about that of Japan. His plans in this respect were frustrated, for he died of fever in the little island of San Chuan [1] (St. John), off the coast of Kwangtung, on December 2 (according to some, November 27), 1552. However much we may criticize some of his methods, Xavier must always be regarded as one of the greatest missionaries of all time.

It was thirty years later that the third period of missionary work in China really began. Nestorian and Franciscan missions had had their day and left small trace behind. It was now the turn of the Jesuit. The prospect was not encouraging.

[1] Or San Shan, that is, "the three hills." It is just southwest of Macao; here Xavier was buried till the body was removed to Goa.

Valignani,[1] the Vicar-general, exclaimed almost in despair: "O mighty fortress, when shall these impenetrable brazen gates of thine be broken open?" Yet soon after, another Jesuit, Mateo Ricci,[2] learned the way to remain in China without offending Chinese prejudices. He and his companions, "in their intercourse with the people of all classes, won good opinions by their courtesy, presents, and scientific attainments." He died in 1610, having made some notable converts in high places and others who were influential enough to protect the Christian fathers from molestation. Among these were Paul Su and his daughter, Candida, to whom the Jesuits owed much in the early stages of their work.

We shall have other references to make to the work of the Jesuits in China and Japan, but we may at this point, once and for all, suggest the main reasons, on the one hand, for their successes and, on the other, for their failures. In China and Japan alike success came primarily from the immense sincerity and zeal of the men and their belief in their message. But in Japan there was, in addition to the points already mentioned, the favor of Nobunaga. While the dictator was by no means himself disposed to accept Christianity, he was not averse to using it in opposition to the Buddhists, whose ascendancy he designed to destroy. In China there was also the splendid scientific attainment of the Jesuits, who for almost a century became guides of the emperors in astronomy, mathematics, surveying, architecture, painting, and landscape gardening. These gifts were often sufficient to afford the emperor reason for protecting the missionaries. To the mandarins, on the other hand, they proved additional sources of grievance. Opposition in general developed, in China and Japan, from causes for which the foreigners were themselves responsible. The coming of Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians

[1] Born in Italy in 1538 and died at Macao in 1606, just as he was preparing to enter China.

[2] Ricci was in China from 1582 till his death in 1610. The ground given by the emperor for his grave was the first property acquired by foreigners in China.

from the Spanish dominions introduced methods which were far less wise than those followed by the Jesuits, and moreover, provocative of factional dispute. The resultant appeals to the Pope sowed seeds of suspicion in the minds of the Oriental rulers as to possible clashes of authority on matters of moment to the state. Rumors as to the relation of the missionaries and merchants to the soldiers of the Peninsula, who might be expected in due time, gave further cause for suspicion. These suspicions were sedulously broadcasted by the nationalities which followed upon the heels of Spanish and Portuguese in the East.

The success of these new nationalities comes simultaneously with the decline in power of the Peninsula kingdoms. Up to a certain point the success of the Portuguese had been little short of miraculous. There was a long struggle for supremacy before the power of the Holy Fleet of the Moslem Arab was broken, and control of the Indian Ocean obtained from Natal to Ormuz, from Africa to Java. The century that followed was a victory as remarkable as was the success which inaugurated it. Goa — "Goa dourado" — became an earlier Bombay, and men quoted the proverb: "Whoever hath seen Goa need not see Lisbon." It is hard to go back in imagination from the poverty and pride of the modern city of empty convents and ruined palaces, half buried in the jungle grass, to the centre of that viceroyalty which provided Portugal with royal revenues. In Japan and China the profits of the Oriental trade were not less staggering in their opulence. As at Jerusalem in the days of Solomon, gold was nothing accounted of at Lisbon during those prosperous years.

The causes for the decadence which followed may be set down succinctly as threefold. First, there was the selfish disposition to make a monopoly of an unexampled opportunity. The doom of Iberian supremacy was in a measure sealed by the decision to close Lisbon against the trade of other European Powers. Secondly, there was the union of the two Peninsula kingdoms in 1580, with the consequent drain of wealth to

enable Spain to carry on her campaigns in the Netherlands. Thirdly, there was the increasing desire on the part of the rising nationalities of Northern Europe to break through the barriers imposed by the Papal bulls and participate in the lucrative Oriental adventure.

So events hurried along toward one end, and we come at last to the edict of the rulers of Japan in 1637, to the effect that "the whole race of the Portuguese, with their mothers, nurses, and whatever belongs to them, shall be banished to Macao." [1] To enforce this edict the measures taken were adequate. So far as Japan is concerned, a complete end was made to the Portuguese exploitation which began so auspiciously. The last episode is one of mingled tragedy and pathos. In 1640 four noble Portuguese, "wise, virtuous, and prudent men," came as an embassy from Macao, only to be marched in bonds to the Mount of Martyrs and there beheaded with their retinue. Thenceforth Portugal was to be remembered in Japan merely by the retention of a few words, such as those for soap, bread, towel, clock, cards, glass, and so on. In China, Macao remained like the mast of some mighty wreck left by the avenging seas. In India, the solitary relics of Goa, Daman, and Diu, with their bare four hundred square miles of territory and scant half-million inhabitants, do not tell all the tale. Here the process of decay is not less tragic than defeat. In Indonesia the sole reminder of Portuguese sovereignty is now the eastern end of the island of Timor.[2] Of the successes and more frequent failures of Portugal's rival and partner, Spain, we shall have occasion to speak in a later chapter.

[1] See Kaempfer, *History of Japan*, vol. III.

[2] The easternmost and largest of the Lesser Sunda Islands. The northeast part is Portuguese, containing 7450 square miles and has about 300,000 inhabitants. The rest of the island is Dutch.

CHAPTER VIII

SPAIN IN THE FAR EAST

The bull of Alexander VI, to which reference was made in the last chapter, did not quite satisfy the two countries concerned with regard to the *terminus a quo* of the territories assigned. It was not till the Treaty of Tordesillas of 1506, confirmed by Pope Julius II, moved the line of division from 100 to 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands that this question was finally adjusted. There was still room for misunderstanding when the explorations of the two countries extended so far as to make doubtful the *terminus ad quem*. It is somewhere at this point that Spain enters our story of European discovery and colonization in the East.

A general concession had been made by the Spanish Government in 1495 to all who wished to seek for undiscovered lands. The success of Balboa, who first "stared at the Pacific," "silent, upon a peak in Darien," had moved many to a spirit of emulation. Among these was Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese noble who had been wounded in the service of his country and later wounded in spirit by slanders carried to King Manuel. He transferred his allegiance to Charles I of Spain, pledging himself to bring islands and wealth to the empire, under penalty of losing his head. So an expedition of five ships was fitted out and sailed westward in 1519. The rigors of a Patagonian winter moved the men to mutiny and Magellan had every sort of trouble. Alfred Noyes scarcely exaggerates when he says:[1] —

[1] Alfred Noyes, "Drake, an Epic."

Magellan, who could only hound his crew
Onward by threats of death, until they turned
In horror from the Threat that lay before,
Preferring to be hanged as mutineers
Rather than venture farther.

But beyond the Straits the sea was so calm in comparison with the waters he had left that the grateful captain gave the ocean the name it still bears, though as yet it scarcely deserves it — the Pacific. The voyagers sailed on until, on the sixteenth of March 1521, a group of islands was discovered to which they gave the name, Ladrones, or Robber Islands, because the natives tried to steal the nails from the vessels' sides. A few days later they came upon Mindanao, the southern island of the Philippine group. From the day in the calendar on which the discovery was made, the islands were first of all called the San Lazaro Islands. The Spanish flag was hoisted on Mindanao, and Magellan proceeded to Cebu, where he unwisely made an alliance with one of the chiefs. Unfortunately, this involved him in a factional fight, and in this ignoble conflict the brave explorer perished on April 25, 1521. It was then determined to destroy all but one ship and with this return to Spain with the news. So it came to pass that the first ship to circumnavigate the globe, the little Victoria, under the command of Sebastian del Cano, got back to Spain. The fortunate commander henceforth bore upon his escutcheon a globe with the words: *Primus circumdedit me.* The discovery was naturally hailed with delight, and another expedition was presently dispatched to make sure of the prize Under Philip II, after whom the islands were finally named, a formidable little army was sent, led by the first Governor-General, Miguel Lopez de Legaspi.

The Philippine group comprises something over three thousand islands of volcanic origin, which stretch southward from Formosa for about a thousand miles. According to A. R. Wallace, the group was separated from the continent of Asia in comparatively recent geological ages. Some of the islands are large. Luzon contains 41,000 square miles, and Mindanao

about 37,000. Others are quite small, down to mere nameless[1] rocky islets, inhabited by nothing but birds. The coastline of the group is about double that of the United States proper. Earthquakes are frequent, and the islands are in the typhoon belt. The climate is hot and not well adapted for white men, though with care health may be maintained.

The native population numbers close to 8,000,000 and is divided into about a hundred tribes. Some ethnologists distinguish three different stocks, the Negrito, the Indonesian, and the Malay. Others make no distinction between Indonesian and Malay. In this view the Malays consist of (*a*) the wild tribes, such as the Igorrotes; (*b*) the Muhammadan Moros[2] of the Jolo archipelago and Mindanao; (*c*) the Filipinos proper, including the seven tribes of Visayans, Ilocanos, Tagalogs, Bicols, Pampangans, Pangasinans, and Ibangs. The first mention of the islands by a Chinese writer, Chao Ju-kuo,[3] about 1250 A.D., describes the Negritos as follows: "They build their nests in the treetops and in each nest lives a family, which only consists of from three to five persons. They travel about in the densest thickets of the forests, and without being seen themselves, shoot their arrows at the passer-by. For this reason they are much feared. If the trader throws them a small porcelain bowl they will stoop down to catch it and then run away with it, shouting joyfully." At the present time the Malayans are for the most part Christians, the Moros are fanatical Muhammadans, and the Negritos are still in a state of primitive paganism. There are also about a hundred thousand Chinese at present in the islands. The Chinese have carried on trade in the islands from before the time of Magellan.

The work of Christianization began with the arrival of Magellan, but its real success dates from the coming of Andres de Urdaneta with Legaspi. Urdaneta had formerly been a soldier, but came to the islands as an Augustinian monk. With him were five other Augustinians who labored zealously and

[1] Elliott says that, in 1905, 1473 islands were still nameless.
[2] That is, Moors.
[3] See Elliott, p. 88.

successfully. In course of time the missionaries at work in the islands included Dominicans, Franciscans, Jesuits, Capuchins, and Benedictines, as well as Augustinians.

The story of the Viceroy Legaspi is one of the most romantic out of a romantic era. The General was a Basque nobleman, settled in Mexico City, famous alike for piety and patriotism. He was practising as a notary when called upon to represent Spain in the East Indies. Many wanted him to annex New Guinea rather than the Philippines, but he had already made up his mind when he left a Mexican port in November 1564. The islands were sighted in February 1565, and Legaspi resolved to proceed to Cebu. On the way he stopped at Mindanao, where spies of the Prince of Cebu found him and prepared their report of the newcomers. The Spaniards were, so they said, "enormous men with long pointed noses, dressed in fine robes; ate stones [hard biscuits], drank fire, and blew smoke out of their mouths and through their nostrils. Their power was such that they commanded thunder and lightning, and that at meal-times they sat down at a clothed table. From their lofty port, their bearded faces, and rich attire, they might have been the very gods manifesting themselves to the natives."[1] For his part, the Viceroy had resolved to accept Cebu for the Spanish Crown. He landed, and after fruitless efforts at negotiations sacked the principal town and raised the Spanish flag. It was in 1567 that we first have, in a letter of the General's, reference to the whole group as Las Islas Filipinas, so named in honor of Philip II.

Two or three years later, Salcedo, Legaspi's grandson, was sent to the island of Luzon to extend Spanish sovereignty in the north. He routed Soliman, chief of Manila, — then called Maynila, — and sent word to his grandfather to come and take possession. Legaspi came, noted the importance of the conquest, and established Manila as the capital of the whole group, now formally declared to be under the dominion of Spain. The City Council of Manila was created in June 1571 and, a little

[1] See Foreman, p. 34.

over a year later, the energetic Governor-General passed away. He is well remembered monumentally in Manila to the present day and, to adopt the felicitous quotation of Mr. Foreman:

> "Death makes no conquest of this conqueror,
> For now he lives in fame, though not in life."

Salcedo continued the task of subjugation, but it was long before the whole archipelago was in any sense under Spanish control. The adjacent groups were annexed as discovered, or as opportunity offered. Thus the Ladrones, which had been earlier visited, were in 1668 occupied by a Jesuit mission and named, in honor of the then Regent, Queen Maria Ana, Las Islas Marianas. The older name has been more generally used. In 1686 were discovered the islands named after the Emperor Charles II, the Carolines.[1] This group seems to have been lost for a while and had to be rediscovered. The Pelew Islands were made a dependency *in absentia*, news of the existence of the group having come to Samar through the arrival of a number of islanders in their canoes.

In Salcedo's time a formidable crisis had to be met through the attack upon Manila by a Chinese pirate, the redoubtable Li-ma-hong. Taking a leaf out of the book of the Spaniards, the sea rover imagined that conquering an archipelago required nothing but courage and assurance. So, with several thousand men and women in some sixty junks, he with his Japanese lieutenant made on two successive days an attack on the capital and its citadel, which all but succeeded. The assailants were eventually driven off with severe loss, but Li-ma-hong established himself for a time in another part of the island, and it was some months before the Spanish, with some promised help from the Chinese Governor of Fukien, was in sufficient force to resume operations. Li-ma-hong slipped out, and many of his men fled to the hills, where their supposed descendants are still known as Igorrote Chinamen. The grateful citizens of Manila

[1] The Mariana and Caroline Islands were later sold to Germany, and after the Great War assigned by mandate to Japan.

ascribed their deliverance to Saint Andrew, and made his festival an annual celebration of the victory.[1]

About this time many dissensions appeared between ecclesiastics and military officials, and most acrimonious debates were the consequence. So bitter was the attitude of party against party that at last the differences were referred to Spain, and a special decree was sent out, providing for a more efficient government, for the raising of revenue and its proper distribution among army, Church, and treasury, and for the building of churches, hospitals, and penitentiaries.

Relations with Japan also reached a critical stage just before the close of the sixteenth century. The boundary between the Japanese dominions and those of Spain had of course never been delimitated, and the Japanese had been wont to consider the northern part of Luzon as almost their own territory. In consequence, encounters with the newcomers were not infrequent, and when news reached Hideyoshi of the Spanish claim to the islands a characteristic demand was at once dispatched, requiring the surrender of the islands and an acknowledgment of vassalage. The Spaniards, with less than their accustomed haughtiness, — since they were fighting the Dutch at the time and conscious of their weakness, — returned a conciliatory reply. An envoy was sent who negotiated a treaty satisfactory to both sides, and all might have been well had not the envoy mixed religious propaganda with his political mission. From the days of Xavier, the Jesuits had claimed and exercised a practical monopoly in the Christianization of Japan and they were by no means willing to have the presence of their Spanish rivals in the persons of the Franciscan and Dominican friars. But these latter entered under the guise of political emissaries from the Governor-General of the Philippines, obtained permission to build a church at Kyoto, and, with extreme indiscretion, flouted the orders of Hideyoshi forbidding propaganda. The result was to increase the hostility of the dictator to the faith, and to bring about in 1597 the tragical event known as "the

[1] Nov. 30, St. Andrew's Day.

crucifixion of the Twenty-three."[1] Among the victims was the Philippine envoy, Father Bautista. We may admire the heroism of the martyrs and the confidence with which the survivors looked forward to "a most abundant harvest to follow"; but one remembers, with Foreman, that Buddhist missionaries in Spain would not at this time have met with milder treatment at the hands of the Inquisition. And one feels that a little more wisdom on the part of the missionaries might have rendered their sacrifice unnecessary. The persistent attempts of the Spanish friars to enter Japan had a good deal to do with the later decision of the Tokugawa Shoguns to seal the country against all foreign intercourse.

The beginning of the seventeenth century, as we have already seen, was marked by continued hostility between Dutch and Spanish. The Dutch sent out a powerful squadron against Manila, but found it more profitable to wait outside and seize the treasure-ships which came from Mexico. In the end even this proved unprofitable, and after a strife prolonged for half a century the Hollanders found the game scarcely worth the candle, so they settled down to mind their own affairs within their own East Indian possessions.

The Chinese residents of Manila had, under Spanish rule, become an increasingly wealthy part of the community, and for this reason alone had incurred the dislike of their political masters. But in 1662 the name "Chinese" became dreaded for another reason. Among the most formidable opponents of the Manchu conquerors of China was the pirate, half Chinese and half Japanese, known by the Portuguese as Koxinga.[2] He had made himself a name of terror to the Manchu emperors, had captured Fort Zealandia[3] and Formosa from the Dutch, and felt it within the range of possibility to make attack upon Manila and the Philippines. The Manila Chinese had no sympathy with Koxinga's purpose, and as a matter of fact the assault never

[1] See the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum* for Feb. 5.
[2] That is, "Kuo-hsing-yêh," possessor of a national surname.
[3] The fort erected by the Dutch in Formosa.

Crucifixion of the Twenty-three Protomartyrs of Japan, 1597

came to a head; but the panic in Manila was such that, between the fear of the Spaniards and the preparation of the Chinese to protect themselves, a hideous massacre was the result, in which some 25,000 Chinese perished. Terrible as the slaughter was, it would have been still worse had not the Spaniards realized in the course of it that a certain number of Chinese were necessary for their own comfort in all sorts of ways. Consequently some were spared and allowed to remain, on condition that they became Christian.

No very important information is to be gleaned from a survey of Philippine history till 1761, when England declared war against France and Spain. Then Manila was at once in danger, and Admiral Cornish left with a strong force to take possession of it. English troops under General Draper were landed, and after a brief but vigorous resistance the city, through the Archbishop of Manila, offered to surrender. Outside of Manila, however, the English did not capture a great deal of territory. Simon de Anda, whose story may be read with a great deal of interest and no small admiration, opposed the Archbishop and organized resistance outside of Manila, which in the end saved the day. The news of Draper's capture of the city did not reach Europe in time for Manila to be included in the terms of the Treaty of Paris, 1763; so the British occupation was very short-lived. It is interesting to speculate as to the probable course of events, had Great Britain been confirmed in her occupation of the Philippines.

After the treaty there was some delay in the matter of evacuation, on account of the quarrel between de Anda and the Archbishop as to who represented the authority of Spain, but eventually Don Francisco de la Torre was sent out to take over the government and the English soldiers moved out. The new governor is described by an ecclesiastical contemporary as "the most detestable robber ever seen in the East or West Indies, a man without shame or trace of Christianity. . . . May God bring us a Governor," the letter concludes, "may God bring us a few judges, who shall recognize

and appreciate the defense of the Catholic religion and of the poor Indians."

But one other feature of Philippine history needs here to be mentioned ere we pass from the period. This is the constant disposition on the part of the natives to revolt against the government of Spain. For instance, in 1622 we find the natives of Bohol in full rebellion, both on account of the tyranny of ecclesiastics and of the weight of the taxes. In 1629 a similar revolt occurred in Northeastern Mindanao. Twenty years later a very serious rebellion took place in Pamar, under a chief called Sumoroy. When the Spanish commander sent to the rebels demanding Sumoroy's head, they sent him back a pig's head. In 1660 the inhabitants of the province of Pambanga revolted against the command to cut down timber for their masters. And to take one example from the eighteenth century, in 1744 there was a rebellion against a certain Jesuit priest who was in the habit of having parishioners arrested for absenting themselves from Mass.

All this goes to show that, whatever advantages the Spanish had brought to their distant Asiatic dependencies, they had certainly not contributed the inestimable boon of peace. The outcome of a wholly unsatisfactory situation we shall see in the developments of a later time.

CHAPTER IX

PORTUGAL'S SUCCESSORS IN THE EAST

It is with some sense of the need for apology that we take up still another chapter of the story of European relations with Asia, instead of Asia's own history independent of foreign contacts, rich as that history is in materials for every sort of study. But it will be obvious that most of the complications in Asia to-day are the result of those very intrusions on the part of Europe which we are describing, hence we must add to the story of Portuguese and Spanish adventure in the East the record of still more far-reaching and persistent penetration. First of all must come some brief account of the Oriental exploitations of the Dutch.

Though not so early as Great Britain in the general effort to break a way to Cathay by sea, Holland must in several other respects be regarded as the pioneer in successfully challenging the monopoly of Spain and Portugal in the trade of the Farthest East. As early as 1565 the Dutch had established a "factory" (trading station) on the North Russian route to China, but had made little use of it. In 1593 came a series of attempts by Holland to force the Northeast Passage. In this enterprise William Barents[1] had a distinguished place. On his third voyage he reached Spitzbergen in great cold, poverty, misery, and grief. He was forced to stay all winter in Nova Zembla, and died on his return voyage home. The name "Barents Sea," given to the Arctic Ocean north of Europe, should of

[1] Died 1597. The house in which he wintered was discovered in 1871 and part of the journal in 1875.

course not be confused with Behring[1] Sea north of the Aleutian Islands.

By this time Antwerp had become an important international port, and the schools of cartography at that city and at Bruges may be regarded as indications of the seriousness of the Dutch in challenging the validity of the Papal edict. More important still was the stimulus given by the work of John van Linschoten,[2] who had lived from 1583 to 1589 in the household of the Portuguese archbishop at Goa, and was thoroughly aware of the opportunities for trade which the East offered to the adventurous. Linschoten was at least determined his countrymen should hear of these, and the publication of the *Itinerario*[2] was like a trumpet call to English as well as Dutch, for the book did not long remain untranslated. A keen struggle ensued to take advantage of the opening. The Dutch expeditions began as early as 1595, and we read of five separate ones in 1598. The nation was intoxicated with dreams of Oriental wealth when Van Neck returned with freight beyond anything the shareholders had anticipated. Fifteen expeditions were launched before 1601. Then, in 1602, by action of the States General, all associations formed for trade were merged in the Dutch East India Company.

One of the ships which left Holland, part of "a fleete of five sayle," in 1598, was De Liefde (The Charity), piloted by the famous Englishman, Will Adams.[3] Separated from the rest of the fleet by storms somewhere off the coast of Spanish America, this vessel came on to Japan and reached the neighborhood of Nagasaki on April 19, 1600. The newcomers, Hollanders and Englishman alike, were bitterly opposed by the Portuguese, who regarded them as rebels and pirates. But with time playing into their hands, they were satisfied with the respite gained for them by the favor of Iyeyasu, the new Sho-

[1] Vitus Behring, or Bering, 1680–1741.

[2] 1563–1611. The *Itinerario* was translated into English and German in 1598, into Latin (twice) in 1599, and into French in 1610.

[3] The letters of Will Adams have been published several times. See N. Murakami's *Letters Written by English Residents in Japan.*

gun. At the same time they pushed their fortunes shrewdly and let slip no opportunity for wooing the interest of the Japanese. They commenced the importation of all kinds of monsters and curious animals; nothing was too whimsical or too ridiculous, so long as it attracted attention. Nevertheless, they made mistakes, especially in their request, after Iyeyasu's death, for a renewal of their letters-patent. This request was considered unnecessary and a reflection on the good faith of the Japanese. The letters were granted, but on less advantageous terms. The relation of the Dutch to the establishment of the English factory at Hirado will be mentioned presently, but it may be well to tell the story of Dutch influence now as far as the settlement of Deshima. The Hollanders were not overscrupulous in their efforts to make gain out of Japanese opposition to Christianity and to the Portuguese. Their part in the terrible massacre of Shimabara in 1638 is nothing to be proud of. Dr. Kaempfer, the Dutch historian, comments as follows: "By this submissive readiness to assist the Emperor in the execution of his designs with regard to the final extinction of Christianity in his dominions, 't is true indeed that we stood our ground so far as to maintain ourselves in the country and to be permitted to carry on our trade, although the court had then some thoughts of a total exclusion of all foreigners whatever. But many generous and noble persons at court and in the Empire judged quite otherwise of our conduct, and not too favorably for the credit we had thereby endeavored to gain." [1] The head of the Dutch factory, Koeckerbecker, found it sufficient excuse to say he must "save at any price the commerce of Japan."

Yet, after all this complacency, the Dutchmen all but shared the total exclusion of foreigners which became the policy of Iyemitsu, the third Tokugawa Shogun. They purchased immunity by submission to the most humiliating conditions. For example, in 1638 they consented to demolish the warehouses at Hirado, for the double reason that they were, in Japanese

[1] See Kaempfer, vol. II, p. 173.

eyes, too handsome and too solidly constructed, and because there was reference to Christianity in the A.D. prefixed to the date on the front. The Dutch history naïvely remarks: "The better we deserved of them, the more they seemed to hate and despise us." Then, in 1641, the merchants were forced to accept the little island in the harbor of Nagasaki, called Deshima,[1] two hundred yards long and eighty broad, which had already been connected by a small stone bridge with the mainland in anticipation of its occupation by the Portuguese. Here the Hollanders found at once their secure commercial foothold and their prison. The island was enclosed "with pretty high deal boards, covered with small roofs, on the top whereof is planted a double row of pikes." From this they were suffered to emerge only once a year, to make the ceremonial visit, with presents, to the Shogun. Kaempfer says: "So great was the alluring power of Japanese gold, that rather than quit the advantage of a trade, indeed most advantageous, they willingly underwent an almost perpetual imprisonment, for such in fact is our stay in Deshima, and chose to suffer many hardships in a foreign and heathen country, to be remiss in performing divine service on Sundays and solemn festivals, to leave off praying and singing of psalms in publick, entirely to avoid the sign of the cross, the calling upon Christ in the presence of the natives, and all the outward marks of Christianity, and lastly, patiently and submissively to bear the abusive and injurious behavior of these proud Infidels towards us, than which nothing can be offered more shocking to a generous and noble mind."[2]

After this the Dutch, restricted first to seven ships annually and eventually to one, did no more than barely keep unbroken the thread of Japanese contact with the West, until the coming of the modern era.

We have, in trying to preserve a compact story of the Dutch relations with Japan, outrun our narrative in other respects. The achievements of Holland, as one of the two great Protes-

[1] For a full description of Deshima, see Kaempfer, vol. II, pp. 174–184.
[2] Kaempfer, vol. II, p. 174.

tant Powers of Europe, must not be underestimated. As in Europe the Dutch declaration of independence in 1581 had been the beginning of political reformation for the continent, and as her arts and industries quickened the pulse of civilization, so the girdle of discovery she put around the world reacted favorably on home conditions. Her grounds of opposition to England in the Far East were priority of occupation, services rendered to the natives, and the treaties made in Europe.

By 1608 the success of Holland in breaking the Portuguese monopoly in Eastern waters was so far complete that the Collegium of the Company was able to appoint a Governor-General to reside in Batavia,[1] which was made the headquarters in the East in 1619. From this point he was expected to carry out the policy of creating a trade monopoly of his own and seeing to it that "no other nation had any share whatever." The English were expelled from the Spice Islands and the Malay archipelago, and the Portuguese from Ceylon and Malacca. In 1622 they made an unsuccessful attack on Macao and occupied the Pescadores.[2] These they afterward relinquished — following the shrewd suggestion of the Chinese — for Formosa, which remained in the hands of the Dutch until the pirate Koxinga expelled them. In 1653 they sent an embassy to Canton, which was foiled by the alertness of their Portuguese rivals. Yet, two years later, they sent an embassy to Peking. An interesting account has come down from the pen of Niewhof, detailing some of the astonishing servilities exacted from the accommodating ambassadors.[3] They secured, however, the privilege of sending an embassy once in eight years, and of employing four ships in the Chinese trade. There were to be no more than a hundred men in a company, and only twenty were to be permitted to proceed to court. Later expeditions will be noted in due course, though we may here state that the Dutch East India Company was seriously weakened by the

[1] A seaport on the north coast of Java.
[2] That is, "The Fishermen," a group between Formosa and the Chinese coast.
[3] S. W. Williams, *The Middle Kingdom*, vol. II, p. 435.

beginning of the eighteenth century and was really bankrupt at the time of its dissolution in 1798. As in the case of Spanish and Portuguese trade, one important reason for decadence is to be found in the selfish and monopolistic ambition of its representatives. There were also certain deplorable incidents, such as the Amboyna affair[1] in 1623 — when two groups of Englishmen were subjected to the water torture — and other outrages. When the news reached England, the wrath of the nation was intense, but "James would not fight and the Dutch knew it." It should be added that the Albuquerque of the Dutch East Indies was Governor-General Coen,[2] who ruled from 1618 to 1623 and again from 1627 to 1629.

The story of English adventure in the Orient is one of mingled romance, humiliation, and success. To begin with, it was to a large extent the consequence of Dutch initiative. The publication of Linschoten's *Itinerario* stung the English merchants to action almost as quickly as it did the Dutch. The London merchants contributed £30,000 for a trial voyage, and at a meeting held at Founder's Hall, September 22, 1599, they considered three methods of procedure. Should they adopt the method of the Portuguese, who used the royal prerogative; the method of the Dutch, with the support of the States General; or the semi-private English method? The result was the creation of the London East India Company, which received its charter from Queen Elizabeth, December 31, 1600. It at once set out to realize Shakespeare's "new map with the augmentation of the Indies." The policy of the Company, as stated in the charter, was "for the honour of our Nation, the welfare of our People, the Increase of our Navigation, and the advancement of lawful Traffic to the benefit of our Commonwealth." In the beginning it was what is called a regulated company, obtaining the royal commission for each single voyage.

One of the first vessels to proceed was under the command of

[1] See Dryden's tragedy of *Amboyna, or the Cruelties of the Dutch to the English Merchants.*

[2] Fourth Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies, born 1587, died 1630.

George Waymouth, in 1602. It started for "the kingdoms of Cataya or China," by way of the Northwest Passage, and was, according to plan, not to desist from its course so long as the captain "shall find those seas or any part thereof navigable." John Cartwright of London, preacher, was appointed chaplain at £3 a month. Of this princely amount he was to get only half if they did not return by way of China. The unsuccessful issue of the voyage was ascribed to the faint-hearted exhortations of the chaplain, and in consequence Cartwright was even deprived of the gown and apparel in which he was to have figured at the Chinese court. Such attempts by the Northwest Passage were made at intervals until 1614.

The period of separate voyages, each regarded as complete in itself, lasted approximately till 1612. Accounts were balanced and profits distributed after each venture. But factories (trading stations) were established at certain points more or less permanently. Elaborate arrangements were made for the proper government of the factories. The staff lived in one house, ate at one table, and joined daily in morning and evening prayers. There were to be "no brabbles" and there were punishments for blaspheming and gambling. Gunpowder was not to be wasted in firing unnecessary salutes. It was advised that they should imitate the Dutch, "who are very careful, industrious, and diligent." As for the natives, they were not to be trusted, since "their bodies and soules be wholly Treason." Provision was made for supplying the factors with literature, including Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*. The motto of the Company at this time was *Deus indicat*, afterward changed to *Auspicio Regis et Senatus Angliæ*.

The single-voyage system was found so inconvenient, through the overlapping of voyages, that there was a gradual change, first to an agreement to settle up at intervals of so many years, and ultimately to the joint-stock-company method.

In connection with the Dutch in Japan, reference has already been made to the arrival in that country of the first Englishman, Will Adams, pilot of De Liefde. With a scant handful

of survivors from a long and calamitous voyage, Adams was cast up on the shores of Japan just at the time the first Tokugawa Shogun, Iyeyasu, was beginning his career as dictator. The friars did their best to secure the death of the refugees as pirates, but the Shogun sized up the English pilot as a man to be saved and used. One likes to think of these two men meeting face to face. One was the most politic and far-seeing of Japanese statesmen, the man who had learned to tighten his helmet-strings after the battle. The other was a bluff Elizabethan sailor, a man who easily may have seen Shakespeare, who shared with Iyeyasu the year 1616 as the date of his departing hence. The result was the appointment of Adams as master shipbuilder to the Yedo government and adviser to the Shogun. He encouraged grandiose ideas of trade, on the Shogun's part, with China and Manila, even with Mexico and California. There was certainly at this time no disposition on the part of the Oriental shellfish to seek security from its enemies, actual or hypothetical, by withdrawal into the fastness of its shell.[1]

The reasons for the adoption a little later of the policy of segregation should be carefully studied, since the fact had the most far-reaching influence upon the history of the Far East and of the world. The responsibility for a reversal of policy must be shared by many — Portuguese, Dutch, and the daimios of the southern clans included. But the actual incident which brought about the fateful decision is something for which one man must in the main accept the blame. This man, Sir John Saris,[2] appeared on June 11, 1613, in Japanese waters, in command of the Clove, the pioneer English vessel in Far Eastern waters. He had already received advices as to the influence of Adams, but being "self-opinionated, suspicious, and of shallow judgement," as Brinkley describes him, he was convinced that the pilot was "only fit to be master of a junk." So when

[1] In allusion to a well-known Oriental fable.

[2] See "The Tercentenary of a Great Failure," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, Dec. 1923.

Adams advised him as to the proper course to take at the interview arranged with Iyeyasu, Saris was already inclined to be contrary. Iyeyasu was genuinely interested in geographical exploration with a view to commerce. He inquired about the Englishman's knowledge of Yezo, Kamchatka, and Sakhalin. He spoke sympathetically of the Northwest Passage. Then he proceeded to draw up a charter and agreement which constitute one of the most liberal documents ever proposed between East and West. The main provisions were that the Clove might carry on trade without hindrance; that subsequent English vessels should be similarly welcomed; that ships might visit any ports they chose, and in case of storm put into any harbor; that ground should be provided in Yedo for the erection of factories and houses; and — thus anticipating the concession of extraterritorial rights — that if an Englishman committed an offense on Japanese soil he should be punished by the English general "according to the gravity of his offense."[1] One stands amazed at the blindness of Saris which prevented his seeing the immense advantage the charter offered over his Dutch rivals. But with so much depending upon a wise decision, Saris held that the Dutchman's advice to stay at Hirado was better than that of Adams and Iyeyasu combined, and that his engagements to the local daimios outweighed the Shogun's offer. So he went back to Hirado and started the unlucky factory there with a capital of £7000.[2] The goods displayed proved to be unsalable, and the Holland merchants lowered their own prices at once to meet the competition. Meanwhile, Iyeyasu, fiercely resenting the fact that all the foreign trade was with the southern daimios, his enemies, began to contemplate the policy of segregation which was eventually carried out. It is not generally understood that the Shogun closed the country, not out of any antagonism to the principle of foreign commerce or even out of immediate concern with the foreigners, but because of the part the foreign trade was at this time

[1] Compare with the terms conceded by the Treaty of Kanagawa, 1854.
[2] See Riess, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, 1898.

playing in putting wealth and weapons into the hands of clan-leaders who had resisted his dictatorship. There can be no doubt but that, had the English chosen to carry their trade to the Shogun's own capital, they would have been welcomed not merely in their own interest but in that of the Shoguns. The Hirado factory lingered in a moribund condition for some ten years and at last, when at noon, December 24, 1623, the English factors sailed away in the Bull, the curtain was rung down upon a great opportunity rendered "frustrate and vagabond" by one man's willfulness.

Will Adams died in Japan, leaving behind him some very interesting letters, now in the possession of the India Office, London. The Anjin-zuka, or Pilot's Grave, near Yokusuka, is still pointed out as the place where sleeps the dust of the valiant sailor from the "spacious days" of Queen Elizabeth and King James.[1]

British commerce made only a tentative appearance in China at this time, with the arrival of Captain Weddell at Canton in 1635. The vessels proceeded to the Bogue forts and were fired upon at the instigation of the Portuguese. "Herewith," says the spirited narrative of the event, "the whole fleet being instantly incensed, did on the sudden display their bloody ensigns; and weighing their anchors fell up with the flood and berthed themselves before the castle, from whence came many shot, yet not any that touched so much as hull or rope; whereupon not being able to endure their bravadoe any longer, each ship began to play furiously upon them with their broadsides."[2] It is no wonder that "the carrotty-pated race" were looked upon with some dread and aversion, with their blue eyes sunk deep in their heads, their feet one cubit and two tenths long, and their strange, uncouth manners.

In India English adventure was more prosperous than in Japan or China. The Great Moghuls were by no means averse to receiving strangers at their courts. Hawkins has given us an

[1] There is also a Pilot Street (Anjin Cho) in Tokyo, the old Yedo.
[2] See Staunton's *Embassy*, vol. I, pp. 5–12.

interesting account of the daily life of Jehangir, the eldest son of Akbar. We see him a willful, self-indulgent, drunken prince, yet one who on occasion was able to assert his self-control. We recognize the remarkable influence over him of his beautiful and talented wife, Nur Jehan, "Light of the World." We see him, like James I, writing a counterblast against tobacco. The Portuguese were like "madde dogges" at the favor shown Hawkins by the Emperor. Captain Hawkins left in 1611, and was succeeded as ambassador by Sir Thomas Roe, a true Elizabethan, and a writer to whom we are indebted for much information as to Jehangir and his successor, Shah Jehan. This ruler was the most popular of the Great Moghuls, possibly because he had more Indian blood in his veins. Tavernier, the Frenchman, praised him as indeed the father of his people. His beautiful wife, Mumtaz-i-Mahal, the "Elect of the Palace," mother of Jehan's fourteen children, has become even more famous in death, through the building of the Taj Mahal at Agra as her tomb. The architect of this superb mausoleum was a Venetian, Geronimo Verroneo.

But we must go back on our tracks to the history of trade relations, and to Hawkins's acquisition of the charter at Surat.[1] As early as 1599 Mildenhall was sent out with a letter from the Queen to the Great Moghul. He returned in 1602 with a glowing account of the luxury and culture of the court. Four or five years later, Captain Hawkins carried a letter from James I to the Emperor Jehangir and obtained a grant for the building of a factory at Surat. The Portuguese promptly had the grant revoked, and English influence was thereupon for several years on a very doubtful footing, owing to the double hostility of Portuguese and Moslem to Sir Thomas Middleton.[2] In 1612, however, Captain Best won a victory over the Portuguese, which led to the grant of an imperial firman, awarding the English a legal settlement. At the same time rivalry with the Dutch became less marked.

[1] Fourteen miles from the mouth of the Tapti, north of Bombay.
[2] Or Myddelton.

In sending out Captain Downton in 1614 on the first joint-stock voyage to India, James I wrote that he was now at amity with all men, but that, if his representatives were provoked, they must not be held responsible for any acts of warfare committed. In truth England was now in an extraordinarily favorable position for the extension of trade, and there were manifest signs of Portuguese decline. Portugal had been drained of wealth by her association with Spain; her influence over the Indian rajahs had diminished almost to the vanishing-point, owing to the southward extension of the Moghul power; and her resort to piracy on the high seas (to make up for her weakening by land) had brought down upon her the full weight of the Moghul displeasure. Moreover, the cruelties of the Inquisition, shown especially in the attempt on the part of the Dominican friars to convert the Nestorian Christians of St. Thomas, reacted against their authority. The blow given to the Spanish power in Europe by the defeat of the Spanish Armada had also seriously weakened the Peninsula kingdoms in the East, and the Spanish did little to keep their promise to maintain the Oriental ventures of the sister state.

In one year Downton succeeded in establishing English superiority over the Portuguese in India and the latter were never able to recover. Surat became a very important place, regarded with favor by the Moghuls, who knew the difference between commerce and piracy. It was used, moreover, by the dignitaries of the court as a stage on their journey across the Persian Gulf to Mecca. Other settlements followed, including that of St. George, subsequently known as Madras,[1] in 1639. It will be interesting to American readers to recall that from 1687 to 1692 the governor of Madras was no other than Elihu Yale, after whom Yale University was named. Yale was not quite a success as governor, and is said to have hanged his groom "for riding two or three days' journey off to take the air." He was eventually suspended. But all high-handed acts are now

[1] Founded by Francis Day in 1640. The fort was finished on St. George's Day, April 23, hence the name, Fort St. George.

forgiven for the sake of his contribution to American education.

Strangely enough, when we consider the reputation for grabbing all and sundry which the old charter-companies have earned, the London East India Company by no means approved of all these extensions. But the agents abroad were progressive, the work was pushed, and the first piece of Indian soil obtained for England. By the time of Cromwell the home Company had lost its "craven fear of being great," and gave willing consent to the creation of the fortified factories. On the other side of India, to the northwest, English merchants gained favors from the Moghuls by acting as sea police. In Bengal, after tribulations not a few, success came with that remarkable pioneer, the patriarch of Bengal, Job Charnock,[1] the founder of Calcutta. Charnock married an Indian lady whom he had saved from sati, and his name is still preserved in the alternative name for Barrackpore — Chanuk. In the year after Charnock's arrival Shah Jehan was deposed by his rebel son, Aurungzeb, and one of the first events of the new reign was the granting of a charter to the Company by Charles II. As "the Merry Monarch" was about to marry a Portuguese princess, negotiations were opened with Portugal, whereby England came into possession of the island of Bombay.[2] The years following witnessed an enormous development of British trade in the Far East, though the Portuguese alliance was sufficient to make impossible any new arrangements with Japan. The Dutch at least saw to this, though they were impotent to oppose England in most other ways.

At this time, with the Portuguese and Spanish rapidly losing power in the East and the influence of England as clearly in the ascendant, a new contestant for wealth and territory appears in France. The lists were entered with the foundation of the French East India Company. This came about through

[1] Died in 1693, "a faithfull man to the Company."

[2] Island and chief city of Western India. There were formerly seven islands, whence Ptolemy's name of Heptanesia. The name is a corruption of "Mumba," one of the titles of the goddess Kali.

the ambition of the French Minister, Colbert,[1] who in 1664 launched two great companies for the exploitation of the East and West Indies respectively. Several years later a squadron appeared near Madras and took possession of Trincomali. General uneasiness spread from factory to factory, but at first the Dutch were the main sufferers. Dutch and French crippled each other, while the power of England continued to grow. In the twenty years following the restoration of Charles II the imports from Bengal alone grew from £8000 to £300,000. The headquarters of the Company were moved from Surat at the mouth of the Tapti to Bombay, and on the other side of India, from Hugli to Calcutta.

A new element entered the situation with the rebellion of the famous Maratha chief, Sivaji,[2] against Aurungzeb. The old policy of conciliation, which had made Akbar's reign so glorious, was now a thing of the past, and the attempt to impose Muhammadanism by force upon India was disastrous in more than one direction. The war affected the English posts, since the Moghuls were no longer able to protect them, so the Company's agents were gradually forced into the struggle in self-defense. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, with the weakening of the Moghul Empire, France and England appeared in battle array one against the other, in India as in other parts of the world.

Aurungzeb's death in 1707 removed the last of the four strong rulers who had held India together for over a hundred and fifty years. That India had prospered largely under this rule is obvious. The will of the Great Moghul was law, but the law was for the most part just; the system of administration was the result of centuries of experience, and as far-reaching as it was detailed. "The roads and postal arrangements which prevailed throughout the Moghul Empire, during the reign of Shah Jehan and Aurungzeb, were quite as advanced if not more so than those of France during the reign

[1] French statesman, 1619–83.
[2] See Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan.*

of Louis XIV, or those of England under Oliver Cromwell and Charles II." That the Moghuls were capable of great artistic accomplishments is clear from such buildings as the Taj Mahal and other famous edifices of Agra and Delhi. But the last years of the seventeenth century were years of continuous and bloody civil war, and it is probable that, apart from the struggles of European adventurers, the fabric of government would have fallen into ruin. What happened during the eighteenth century we must endeavor to see in another chapter.

CHAPTER X

THE RUSSIAN ADVENTURE IN ASIA

THERE has always been one part of Asia open to influences from the Western Continent. This, of course, is that vast region stretching eastward from the borders of European Russia. The thought brings before us, first of all, the great world of Northern Asia, which in the earlier part of this volume has been described as inert. We see an illimitable stretch of uninviting territory, covered here with dense virgin forest, and here consisting of marshy or frozen tundra, extending all the way from the Ural Mountains to the Behring Sea. Low hills, forming a kind of southern boundary, serve as a watershed from which flow toward the Arctic Ocean rivers such as the Irtish, with its tributaries the Ob and the Tobol, the Yenisei, and the Lena. Most of these streams issue from the string of lakes, including the Caspian Sea, the Sea of Aral, Lake Balkash, and Lake Baikal,[1] which seems to represent the last retreat of a great inland ocean.

Yet perhaps the word "inert" is used out of ignorance, since the tribes of this northern land have had movements of their own, which the conscientious historian of a more detailed history would feel in duty bound to recover. In the extreme northeast are those Palæasiatic tribes which, on the one hand, link themselves with the Ainus of Japan, and, on the other, have contributed the slow migrations of remote times through which the American continent was peopled. A little south, toward the shores of the Sea of Okhotsk, are the various Tungus

[1] The largest body of fresh water in the Old World.

tribes which connect with the Manchus; and to the west are Samoyeds and Yeniseians, who have affinity with the eastern Finns. What the history of all these clans has been in the past, who shall say?

In the second place, we have to the south of the above-mentioned watershed another enormous stretch of country, peopled by tribes whose story seems simple only because we make no attempt to unravel its complexity. The region includes all of Central Asia from "beyond the Caspian's iron gate" eastward to the valley of the Amur and Manchuria. Here at any rate there is no inertness, even if we are obliged to think of movements fermenting in the dark. Here, twelve hundred years before Christ, the Hiung-nu of the Chinese, whom the Indian epics called Hûna and we speak of as Huns, warred against their neighbors. When walls were built against their raids they turned in other directions, dispersing the Tungus into the mountain regions of Manchuria and Korea; forcing the Yueh-chi or Turks from valley to valley; later, driving the Saka or Scythians into the territory of Sogdiana and Bactria. So these shiftings of population in Central Asia continued to be the mainspring of the histories which worked themselves out in more settled lands. To mention merely the epoch-making names of Jenghiz and Timur is to illustrate the more or less constant character of this age-long story. Under whatever name the tribes of this territory appear, — to speak only of comparatively modern times, — as Buriat, Turk, Kirgiz, Kalmuck, Usbeg, Bashkir, or Turkoman, their movements have been determinative of a large part of the story of a continent.

It might therefore seem our proper task to disentangle from the welter of tribalism some continuous narrative. It might at least seem reasonable to tell something of the history of Khanates like those of Khiva, Bokhara, and Kharkhand. Doubtless all these felt themselves important. The Khan of Kharkhand was not the only Central Asian monarch to celebrate his coronation by shooting arrows north and east and south and

west, in token of widespread sovereignty. Yet we feel that the general reader would hardly thank us for the effort, however painstakingly made. Most, we are assured, will prefer to know something of that return wave of European influence which flowed back from Russia after the ebbing of the Tatar tide. This story must also touch the history of the other three nations which come directly into contact with Central Asia, namely, Turkey, Persia, and China.

Russia was, in a certain sense, Asiatic by virtue of neighborhood even before she was to so large an extent Asiatic politically and by intermixture of blood. It is true that much of the culture of the older Russia was Byzantine, but even this was acceptable mainly because of its obviously Asiatic elements. Later incursions from Asia came perilously near to obliterating the effects of the earlier.

Though the name Sibir, from which the term Siberia is derived, does not appear in Russia till the beginning of the fifteenth century, the region which is now Western Siberia was known to the merchants of Novgorod as early as the eleventh century. It was the land whence were brought the furs so eagerly purchased by the nobles of Europe. It was also the fabled land of Yugria[1] where, according to the *Chronicle of Nestor*, Alexander the Great discovered the unclean peoples, and fenced them up amid their mountains lest they should corrupt the earth.

Nevertheless, when the Mongol invasions first occurred, they were thought of as the coming of "these terrible strangers." The calamity was looked upon as a judgment upon Russia for the quarrels of Moscow and Novgorod. The first great clash came on the banks of the Kalka in 1224, when the term Mongol came to be almost synonymous with raider. Very soon afterward it was plain that the barbarians had come to stay. They built a capital on the Volga, and ere long the western section of the invaders, known as the Kipchaks and the Golden Horde, was regarded as a more or less settled community.

[1] See Curtin, *Journey in Southern Siberia*, p. 5.

We need not here repeat what has been said in a former chapter with respect to the Mongols generally. The doom of Russia in Europe was sealed for some centuries when Jenghiz Khan, in a hurry to undertake a second invasion of China, sent his generals to conquer the lands to the west. That this was done with terrible severity, as well as with effectiveness, is illustrated by the story of the Russian princes crushed beneath the platform on which the victorious Mongol generals were festively celebrating their success. Of Ogdai's following up of his father's campaigns we have already had the briefest of sketches. We may here add that he pushed the conquest of China in the east till the Chinese garrisons were reduced to cannibalism and even the crushed bones of the dead were used as meal. So to the west he razed Kiev, ravaged the fair lands of Hungary and Poland, and captured Cracow and Liegnitz. It was fortunate for mankind that Ogdai died of drink and licentiousness in 1241.

After ten years of dissension came Mangu, the eldest son of Ogdai's brother Tule. He made his court at Karakorum, received William de Rubruk, and was favorably disposed toward Christianity — as well as toward Muhammadanism and Buddhism. Mangu's brother Hulagu had completed the destruction of the Khalifate by the sack of Bagdad in 1263. Some of the Western Powers expected to find in him an ally against the Saracens, but this assistance was not forthcoming, though Hulagu had a Christian wife and treasured a letter from the Pope.

All this while, and during the more settled time that followed under Kublai Khan and his successors, Russia, though struggling to hold by the traditions of the past, was inevitably receiving a stamp from the Mongol impact. The Tatar was getting beneath the skin of the Russian, revealing an affinity which was to determine eventually the precise character of many Russian institutions. This character was to serve the cause of imperialism for generations to come. In 1340 the Grand Dukes of Moscow were enrolled among the subjects of the Great Khans, and Russian guards were to be found among

the Imperial troops at Peking. Asia had triumphed in Europe itself.

Yet ere long the tide began to turn. In spite of all, the Mongols proved to be at heart still nomads. Both in China and in Russia they were quite ready to decamp when the clock of destiny struck the hour. In Europe the signal that the long spell of Mongol domination was nearing its end was the coalition formed by Dimitri Donskoi in 1380. In 1407 Toktamish, the leader of the Golden Horde, was murdered in Sibir. Other incidents showed plainly enough that the dreaded Mongol had at least his heel of clay. In less than a century the European khanates had become things of the past, and the history of Russian czarism began in 1462 with the reign of Ivan III. Yet, much later than this we find the Kitai Gorod (Chinese city) in Moscow quite an important community.

It was the turn for Russian dominion, recovered at home, to commence its wonderful record of penetration in Asia. Much of the story of this penetration belongs to the period of the Chinese Ming dynasty. The leading incidents may be summed up as follows: In 1554 Ivan the Terrible felt so far in possession of the Asiatic West that, in a letter to King Edward VI of England, he describes himself as "Commander of all Sibir." In 1567, while Legaspi was making the Philippines Spanish, the first Russian embassy, consisting of Cossacks, attempted to see the Emperor of China, but failed because they brought no presents for the Dragon Face. Then comes the stirring story of the Cossack robber, Yermak,[1] one of the three greatest names in the history of Asiatic Russia.

In 1574 the two brothers Stroganoff were granted privileges on the river Tobol and adjacent streams, on condition that they cultivate the land, establish iron-works, and suppress robbery. Great complaint reached the Czar at the same time of the doings of a certain ataman,[2] Yermak, who was robbing

[1] See Curtin, *op. cit.*, ch. 1.

[2] The headman of a Cossack tribe. Sometimes written *hetman; cf.* German *Hauptmann.*

on the grand scale. It was ordered that he be sent in chains to Moscow and there put to death. Instead, Yermak and the Stroganoffs agreed to coöperate in the conquest of Siberia. The Cossack, who had once been cook on a river boat, crushed the rebellion of Kuchum, and on October 26, 1581, a day memorable in the history of Siberia, entered Sibir as master. Shortly after Yermak earned a pardon by laying the czardom of the whole territory at the feet of Ivan. Now honors were his instead of chains. Fur mantles, suits of armor, and goblets of silver were poured upon the ex-bandit. Yet, ironically enough, Yermak shortly after came to an obscure end. In 1584 his body was found in a river into which he had been thrown or had accidentally fallen. So perished the greatest popular hero of Russian Asia. "Seventy-five years after Yermak crossed the Urals into the almost unknown land of Yugria, Russia had swept across Asia; her boundaries touched the frozen ocean in the north and China in the south; and in 1697 Kamchatka was added to her domains." [1]

A few other landmarks of this wonderful advance should here be chronicled. In 1619 Evashto Petlin made a new attempt to interview the Chinese Emperor. He reached Peking, but failed to do more, for reasons similar to those which frustrated the envoys of 1567. In 1620 the exploration had pushed on to the Yenisei, and ten years later came the settling of the city of Tobolsk.[2]

The second great exploit of Russian adventure in Asia, namely, the conquest of the valley of the Amur, comes coupled with the name of Khabaroff,[3] another personage illustrious in the Muscovite epic. Russian rule had been extended to Lake Baikal in 1648, after a successful war with the Tungus and Buriat tribes. With their headquarters on the Lena, 4000 miles from Moscow, trade and conquest continued to advance.

[1] See Curtin, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[2] No longer the capital of the Government of Western Siberia, but still a considerable town.

[3] See E. T. Williams, *China, Yesterday and To-day*, p. 353.

Poyarkoff had discovered a tributary of the Amur in 1643. From the Manchus in occupation of the territory he had experienced little opposition, since they were then intent upon the conquest of China; so he passed on from the Sungari to the Amur itself, and thence drifted to the mouth of the river. An appeal for assistance from the Russian Government was made in vain. Then came Khabaroff, the right man with the right kind of help.

The Manchus were already engaged in the conquest of China when the Russian adventurers entered the valley of the Amur. Khabaroff reached the mouth of the Ussuri in 1657, and built a fort on a bluff which is to-day the city — called after the name of the explorer — Khabarovsk.[1] The Chinese attacked the colonists more than once, and on one occasion were able to carry off their captives to Peking. Their descendants are still said to be discoverable in the Chinese capital. Other representatives of the Muscovite had in the meantime reached the Far East. In 1653 the Czar Alexis had sent Barkoff, who, however, refused to kotow[2] to the Emperor and was dismissed. Stepanoff succeeded Khabaroff on the Amur, but met his doom in 1658, when surrounded by a large Manchu force. Out of his five hundred men, two hundred deserted before the battle, but all the rest, including their leader, were slain or made prisoners. Pashkoff in 1656 founded Nerchinsk, which grew rapidly in importance, and in 1669 the town of Albazin[3] was founded by Chernogovsky. This city, near the present Blagovestchinsk, had a very picturesque history, passing back and forth between Chinese and Russians several times before the signing of the Treaty of Nerchinsk[4] in 1689.

This memorable settlement is the first treaty made in modern times between China and a European Power. It is famous as the longest-lived treaty in history, for, though altered in

[1] Capital of the Amur Province and of the Maritime Province.
[2] Literally "the nine knockings": a ceremonial prostration at the Chinese court.
[3] Built on the Amur between 1648 and 1651, but received its first governor in 1672.
[4] Sometimes called the Treaty of Nipchu.

some respects in 1727 and in 1768, it remained until 1858 the document upon which was based an understanding between the Colossus of the North and the Middle Kingdom. It expressed the agreement that henceforth, evacuating the valley of the Amur, Russia should make the Yablonoi Mountains the boundary between the two empires. It provided also for a sort of mutuality in the punishment of offenses committed in either territory. "Subjects of either nationality who pass the frontier for private business and commit crimes of violence to property and life are to be arrested and sent to the frontier, to be handed over to the chief local authority of their own country to be punished." [1]

Unfortunately, the ease with which the Russians had obtained practical possession of territory at Chinese expense stirred inhabitants of Central Asia to emulation. The most restless of all the tribes was that known as the Eleuth,[2] a sept of Kalmucks whose leader, Galdan, seems to have dreamed of becoming a second Jenghiz. He took it for granted that some sort of understanding with Russia must necessarily lead to a recognition of independence on the part of China. Here he was mistaken, for, though K'ang Hsi drew the sword with reluctance, he was determined not to sheath it till he had brought Galdan to his senses. The first campaign ended in 1690 with the submission of Galdan. The following year the Emperor K'ang Hsi, accompanied by the Jesuit Gerbillon, who was a good Mongolian and Russian scholar, held a review of the troops in the field. Unluckily for himself, Galdan's ambitions reawoke, and in 1697 a new campaign was rendered necessary. An ultimatum was dispatched to the too audacious chief and a limit of seventy days allowed for surrender. Ere the date expired Galdan surrendered — not to the Chinese but to death, probably obtaining by means of poison self-release from his predicament. During the reign of Yung Chêng,[3] who succeeded K'ang Hsi in 1722,

[1] E. T. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 355.
[2] Also called Oliut Mongols — that is, the separated Mongols.
[3] Yung Chêng reigned from 1722 to 1736.

matters among the Eleuths were quiescent, but only to break out with fresh virulence in the following reign.

In 1727 we must note another important landmark in the story of Russo-Chinese relations. In that year the Empress Catherine sent out an expedition which not only succeeded in negotiating the Treaty of Kiakhta,[1] modifying in favor of Russia the provisions of the Treaty of Nerchinsk, but also resulted in securing the presence of a permanent mission of six ecclesiastics and four laymen to stay in Peking. This treaty, says the Père de la Servière, became "*base véritable des relations de la Chine et la Russie jusqu'à nos jours.*"

Once again the tribes looked reflectively upon the weakening of China's outposts. The Eleuth war broke out anew in the reign of Ch'ien Lung, 1736–96. It entailed the expenditure of a vast amount of blood and treasure before Chinese authority was fully reëstablished. The fickle chief Amursana had made specious pledges of allegiance to the Emperor, but soon began to assume the airs of an independent sovereign. Summoned to Peking, he truculently prepared for war. Ch'ien Lung too made preparations, and announced his intention to hunt down Amursana like a wolf. The campaign was planned by the Emperor to work out with the precision of a game of chess, but for a time the plans miscarried. Chinese statesmen were even anxious to give up the expedition. Even the Emperor hesitated for a time. Very soon, however, he recovered his resolution. Two generals, Fu-ti, the Manchu, and Chao, the Chinese, brought the affair to a successful conclusion. Amursana became a fugitive in Russian territory and died of smallpox. Ch'ien Lung's desire to gloat over his victim was so great that he was fain to have the body brought to Peking. Fortunately for his own health, he was overruled and contented himself with paying due honor to the victorious generals.

One curious illustration of the interrelation of Russian and Chinese history at this time, and of the general effect of this

[1] Sometimes called the Treaty of the Frontier. It fixed the number of Russian merchants visiting Peking at 200 every two years.

interrelation upon the history of Central Asia, is to be found in the story of the return of the Turguts, so graphically described by De Quincey in an essay entitled: *The Flight of a Tartar Tribe*.[1] The Turguts were a Mongol clan which had settled across the Russian border on the banks of the Volga, in order to escape the trouble brought about by the ambitious projects of Galdan. Their new home pleased them after a while no better than the old, and when they heard of the era of peace which had come as a consequence of the victories of Ch'ien Lung, their homesickness rendered absolutely intolerable the exactions of the Russian Government and the laws as to conscription in which they had hitherto acquiesced. Thereupon began a migration which might seem without precedent in human history, did we not feel that many like it must have taken place in Asia just outside the limits of the record. A great multitude of men, women, and children, numbering at least 300,000 souls, secretly set out to regain the old pasture-lands of the tribes under the protection of the Emperor of China. It was at the beginning of January 1771 that the horde started eastward. Not long after, the Cossacks — apprised, like Pharaoh, of the flight of a host of useful serfs — started after them and pursued them with fearful slaughter. Month after month, for eight months the fugitives continued their journey, harassed by enemies and tortured by thirst, their ranks thinned continually by weariness and the length of the way. The worst experience came toward the end, when the Chinese cavalry sent by Ch'ien Lung was already approaching to relieve them. How the Bashkirs and Kirghizes of the desert swooped down upon them, how pursuers and pursued alike, slaughterers and slaughtered, tortured to madness by thirst, came at last to Lake Tengis; how all continued to rush, still slaying and being slain, into the water, until the lake was dyed and polluted with gore — all this must be read in the vivid narrative of De Quincey in order to realize it. Even while Turguts and Bashkirs were struggling together in frenzied hatred, came down the Chinese cavalry,

[1] Thomas De Quincey, 1785–1859.

and once again the slaughter — this time of the Bashkirs — raged until the wild tribes of the desert were driven away to perish almost inevitably of thirst, "a retaliatory chastisement more complete and absolute than any which their swords and lances could have obtained, or human vengeance could have devised." The new subjects of the Empire were received with every demonstration of welcome, and the next year a still further migration of some thirty thousand families followed the Turguts, to enjoy the beneficent rule of the Son of Heaven.

We may here close for the present our account of the Russian advance in Asia, since the Napoleonic wars engaged the Empire on the western frontier to an extent which made adventures to the east at that time unadvisable.

CHAPTER XI

ASIA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The last three or four chapters have been to such an extent the story of European contacts with Asia rather than the history of Asia itself that it will be well to redress the balance by a brief survey of Asiatic affairs from the domestic point of view, to the end of the eighteenth century. Of course, European affairs, like King Charles's head, will inevitably intrude here and there, but we shall endeavor to keep the Asiatic angle of vision as closely as possible.

As far as China is concerned, we have seen the Manchus assembled on the frontier, ready for invasion. But it was the rebellion of the one-eyed bandit Li which actually drove the last Ming Emperor to suicide, and the Manchus did not cross the border till they received the invitation of the Chinese commander, Wu San-kwei. As has already been remarked, Wu may be adjudged a sincere patriot or a detestable traitor, according to the point of view. Much depends upon whether his antagonism to Li was due to sordid or to disinterested motives. One story says that the two soldiers had quarreled over a dancing girl.[1] Another is explicit in describing Wu as even sacrificing his aged father, a prisoner in the hands of the rebel, rather than abandon his country to the ambitions of Li. In any case, the Manchus accepted Wu's invitation with alacrity, while Wu consented to the shaving of his head,[2] all but the one lock,

[1] See Bland and Backhouse, *Annals of the Court of Peking.*

[2] Note that the sign of subjection was not in the wearing of the queue, but in the shaving of the rest of the head. Chinese formerly wore their hair long.

as a sign of allegiance to the invader. Thus was established, in 1644, the Ta Ching (Great Pure) dynasty. The son and successor of Nurhachu had died in the same year, so the first Manchu to sit upon the Chinese throne was a child of nine, Shun Chih. The fact that the first of the Chings to rule over China was a child in the care of his mother gave rise to a curious prophetic song, known as the "Song of the Cakes," which was much quoted at the time of the Revolution a dozen or so years ago. It predicted that, as a dynasty had opened with the rule of a child, even so would it expire — a prophecy quite literally fulfilled.

The Manchu yoke was accepted quite generally in the North by the guilds and by the mandarins. In the South, however, it provoked the fiercest opposition. There can be little doubt that, had there been a really worthy heir to the throne of the Mings to serve as a rallying-point, the Manchus would have found their task an exceedingly difficult if not an impossible one. The last Ming candidate,[1] with his wife and son (who had been baptized by the Jesuits), was hunted down in Burmah, captured, and put to death. The most prolonged resistance was made by the pirate Koxinga, mentioned in an earlier chapter. He made the seacoast so far untenable by the Manchus that the Emperor ordered the people to withdraw so many leagues inland and leave the redoubtable bandit to harry at his leisure. Koxinga captured the island of Formosa from the Dutch and there established a kingdom which he bequeathed to his son.

During the reigns of the first Manchus the Jesuits continued the work they had begun under the Mings. They were in general favored by the emperors on account of their superior scientific knowledge. For the same reason they were hated and opposed by the literati. Some of them, such as Verbiest[2] and Adam Schaal,[3] were men of fine parts and of superb devo-

[1] The last Ming claimant was Kwei Wang.
[2] Ferdinand Verbiest, 1623–88. Reached China in 1659.
[3] Adam Schaal, 1591–1666, celebrated as an astronomer.

ASIA
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tion to the cause they had at heart. Eventually the emperors began to distrust them for reasons already mentioned. The quarrel between the friars over the proper equivalent for "God" is referred to by Browning in *The Ring and the Book*, though Browning or his editors have given us "To-kien" instead of Fo-kien.[1]

> Five years since in the province of To-kien,
> Which is in China, as some people know,
> Maigrot my Vicar-Apostolic there,
> Having a great qualm, issues a decree.
> Alack, the converts use as God's name, not
> Tien-chu, but plain Tien, or else mere Shang-ti,
> As Jesuits please to fancy politic,
> While, say Dominicans, it calls down fire.[2]

Of the first four Manchu emperors the second and the fourth are among the great Asiatic rulers of all time. The first, Shun Chih, was a child at his accession and only a young man when he died in 1661 — according to one story from smallpox, according to another from grief over the death of a favorite wife. A third story affirms that he abdicated and retired to a monastery, "flinging away the empire as if it had been an old shoe."[3] He was succeeded by the ever-illustrious K'ang Hsi, whose sixty years from 1661 to 1722 were — for fifty-four of them — contemporary with the reign of Louis XIV of France, and for nearly that period with that of Aurungzeb, the Great Moghul of India. K'ang Hsi was a ripe scholar, versed in Chinese, Manchu, Mongolian, and Latin. He was a soldier who waged successful war against the Eleuths of Central Asia and rebels within the borders of China itself. For, in this connection, it must be said that General Wu San-kwei, who had been responsible for the admission of the Manchus, turned rebel, or rather was forced into that position by a suggestively worded invitation

[1] Voltaire made a similar mistake, speaking of the great god "Fien" when he meant Tien.

[2] Browning's *The Ring and the Book*, "The Pope."

[3] This story is told by Bland and Backhouse, but refuted by R. F. Johnston in the *New China Review*.

to proceed to Peking. He died in rebellion and after his death the revolt collapsed. K'ang Hsi, amid all his wars, had time to play the part of reformer. He did his best to suppress foot-binding and the immolation of women, and actually accomplished the abolition of the capitation tax. As a patron of literature, the Emperor wrote the famous *Sacred Edict*,[1] one of the modern classics of China, and ordered the completion of the great Chinese *Encyclopædia*. He was also responsible for the *Dictionary* — of 44,439 characters — which bears his name, one of the most wonderful pieces of lexicography ever accomplished.

The following reign of Yung Chêng, from 1722 to 1736, is of considerably less importance, though this emperor tried hard to walk in his father's footsteps as reformer and patron of literature. The most serious indication of the trouble which was on its way is to be noted in the rise of secret societies such as the White Lotus, the Triads, and the Heaven and Earth societies. These were organizations of a mixed religious and political character, but definitely anti-Manchu in their main object.

Then comes the splendid reign of Ch'ien Lung, who more than rivaled his illustrious grandfather by reigning for sixty years — from 1736 to 1796 — and then abdicating. He was a mighty soldier, waging war not only with the Eleuths but also in Tibet, in Burmah, and against the barbarian tribes of the southwest. As a poet he surpassed most of his ancestors, contributing 33,950 poems — happily, for the most part, short — to the national anthology. His verses on "Mukden," the ancestral capital, and on "Tea" [2] gained international recognition. Ch'ien Lung even had a correspondence with Voltaire. The latter so far overcame his aversion to royalty as to write to the "*charmant roi de la Chine*" and confess, "*J'ai toujours fort aimé les rois qui font des vers.*"

[1] Or *Shêng Yu*. The work consists of sixteen moral maxims written by the Emperor when he was sixteen years of age.

[2] Composed when the Emperor was hunting in Tatary. He had it inscribed on teacups so that all who drank might read.

One incident connected with foreign affairs must here be introduced, since it illustrates the beginning of those difficulties China was to encounter through the presence of merchants in the southern ports. The mission of the Earl of Macartney[1] in 1792 was the first real attempt on the part of the English government to bring trade matters to the attention of Peking. The earl was lavishly entertained by the Emperor, who was, moreover, much attracted by young George Staunton, the ambassador's page and the only member of the embassy who could speak and understand Chinese. Macartney had no reason to be displeased with his reception, but, as is pertinently recorded, "he did no business." The Chinese, too, had taken care, for the information of the public, to have painted on the sails of the vessel which carried the party up the river, the words: "Tribute-bearers from the country of England." All the envoy succeeded in exacting from the government was "a permission that his countrymen might trade at Canton on sufferance, as long as they obeyed the orders of the authorities."

A few words should be said in regard to Tibet and its relations to the Middle Kingdom. Tibet is a large, pear-shaped country lying north of the Himalayas and west of the Chinese provinces of Kansu and Yunnan. It is cold, sterile, and inhospitable, sparsely inhabited by a people who were accustomed to the practice of polyandry. History — preceded by much that is legendary — begins with the introduction of Buddhism in the seventh century.[2] The king at that time was Srong-tsan-gumpo, and he was converted through the influence of his Chinese wife. As Buddhism at this time had declined in India, the nearest accessible territory to the Tibetans, the faith of Gautama was naturally much corrupted and from the first intermingled with the primitive Shamanism, known as Bon.[3] So Tibetan Buddhism developed in the form of Lamaism. According to this system, which was widely extended among the

[1] See Staunton's *Embassy*, vol. I, p. 5.
[2] See Hackmann, *Buddhism as a Religion*, pp. 71 *ff.*
[3] Worship of nature-spirits and the spirits of the dead.

Mongols and in later days highly honored by Kublai Khan, there must always be a Living Buddha, an incarnation of the Buddha essence which is eternal in the original or Adi-Buddha. In the fifteenth century came a reformation, possibly due to foreign — even of Christian — elements, which split Lamaism into two sects. Of these the Red Caps represented the old-fashioned believers, and the Yellow Caps, founded by Tsong Kapa, the newer system.

From the time of the Mongols, some kind of sovereignty was exercised over Tibet by the Chinese. In the Ming period this was extended. In the Manchu times the Grand Lama visited Peking and in 1653 had bestowed upon him the title of Dalai Lama,[1] which has ever since been borne by the civil head of the Tibetan Church. Later on, the Panshen Lama,[2] on a similar visit, died at Peking of smallpox. His body was returned, but over his clothes one of the most beautiful memorials in Peking was erected by the Emperor. The honor, however, was productive of war, since the younger brother of the dead Lama, a devotee of the Red Caps and excommunicated by the dominant sect, claimed the succession and called upon those stalwart Himalayan warriors, the Gurkhas,[3] to support him. A wily Chinese general disengaged their assistance for a while by bribery, but, not providing any means for the payment of the bribe, thereby merely postponed the war. The campaign was conducted by the Chinese with skill and success and the Gurkhas were expelled. The Tibetans then acknowledged themselves vassals of China and "from that day to this, tribute missions, in compliance with this treaty, have, without fail, wended their weary way through the wastes of Tibet to Peking, at the stated intervals agreed upon."

What of Japan during this same period? We have seen something of the general relation of the Tokugawa Shogunate

[1] *Dalai*, or *dale*, is a Mongolian word signifying "ocean."

[2] The Grand Lama of Tashi Lhumpo, near Shigatze.

[3] The old kingdom of Gurkha was originally a comparatively small part of Nepal, but the term "Gurkha" is now applied to the majority of the inhabitants of Nepal, immediately south of the Himalayas.

with foreigners, leading up to the expulsion of the Portuguese in 1638. Tokugawa Iyeyasu, first of the line, had won the great battle of Sekigahara over the partisans of the dictator Hideyoshi in 1600. He immediately utilized the victory to ensure not only his own hold upon the government, but also that of his house for generations to come. He adopted the suggestion of Hideyoshi as to the choice of an administrative capital, and the new centre, Yedo,[1] was sufficiently remote from Kyoto to make interference on the part of the Emperor unlikely. Here he arranged that representatives of the clans should always be in residence as hostages, and the distribution of the daimios, including a large number belonging to the Shogun's own family, was so managed as to make a hostile combination practically impossible. As for Hideyori, the minor son of Hideyoshi, who had been left under Iyeyasu's guardianship, he was shamelessly pushed aside. Some years later, when considered more dangerous because of his adult years, he was besieged in his castle at Osaka. One campaign brought Iyeyasu no success; he thereupon made a deceptive truce, in the course of which he obtained the demolition of parts of the castle walls. Then he launched a new attack, and this time succeeded in the destruction of Hideyori. Iyeyasu actually resigned the Shogunate in 1605 to his son Hidetada, but this was only that he might watch the working of the machine he had created. Most of the power of the office he retained until his death in 1616. Iyeyasu's mausoleum at Nikko, built by the third Tokugawa, is one of the architectural splendors of Japan.

The Tokugawas, fifteen in number, proved the wisdom of the policy inaugurated by the first of the line. Only two or three of them need here be mentioned. Some consider Iyemitsu,[2] third of the series, the greatest, though Murdoch speaks of him as "a carpet knight" and "without genius." It was under his rule that the policy of seclusion was carried into effect. As in the old myth, the sun-goddess now withdrew into her cavern. All trade, even that with the Philippines, Annam, Siam, and

[1] Now Tokyo. [2] 1622–51.

China, was restrained. Japanese sailors, driven by storms or ocean currents from the islands, were forbidden to return.

From 1681 to 1709 the Shogun was Tsunayoshi, of whom we have a good, first-hand description from Kaempfer. "Tsinajos," says the Dutch historian, "who now sits on the secular throne of Japan, is a Prince of great prudence and conduct, heir of the virtues and good qualities of his predecessors, and withal eminent for his signal clemency and mildness, though a strict maintainer of the laws of the Country. Bred up in the Philosophy of Confucius, he governs the Empire, as the state of the Country and the good of his people requires. Happy and flourishing is the condition of his subjects under his reign. United and peaceable, taught to give due worship to the Gods, due obedience to the Laws, due submission to their Superiors, due love and regard to their Neighbors, civil, obliging, virtuous, in art and industry exceeding all other nations, possess'd of an excellent Country, enrich'd by mutual Trade and Commerce among themselves, courageous, abundantly provided with all the necessaries of life, and withal enjoying the fruits of peace and tranquillity."[1]

Some of this may be mere servile rhapsody, or perhaps the description applies only to the earlier part of Tsunayoshi's term, when he was controlled by the wise advice of Hotta Masatoshi. The latter was a truly great statesman and came as near as anyone we can recall to the ideal of a sagacious and democratic minister. Later the Shogun came under the influence of a very different person, a squire of low degree, Yoshiyasu, who persuaded Tsunayoshi that his failure to have male issue was because in a previous existence he had been unkind to dogs. Thereupon followed an absurd craze for dogs, which continued till the land was overrun by them, and the Tokugawa chief was henceforth known as the "Dog Shogun."

It was in Tsunayoshi's time that the famous vendetta took place which is described in the best known of Japanese tales,

[1] Kaempfer, vol. III, p. 336.

"The Story of the Forty-seven Ronins,"[1] a story kept alive in Japan by the daily memorials still placed upon the tombs of Lord Asano's retainers. Tokugawa times certainly favored romance both in deed and in the record of the deed.

Chinese learning was at first the dominant school in philosophy, and the Sung philosopher Chu Hsi[2] became immensely popular. In the drama, Chikamatsu Monzaemon,[3] "the Shakespeare of Japan," wrote fifty-one popular plays for the puppet drama as well as for the melodrama of the time. In poetry, the itinerant bard, Basho,[4] made the seventeen-syllable poem — the hokku, or haikai — extremely popular. In history, the Prince of Mito, one of Iyeyasu's grandsons, did something to undermine the security of his own house by writing a *Great History of Japan*, from the reading of which it was all too evident that the Shogunate was not in accord with the older constitutional ideals of the Empire.

One of the very best of the Tokugawa Shoguns, by general consent, was Yoshimune, who ruled from 1716 to 1745. He worked hard to restore the old simplicity of life, wearing only cotton garments in summer and hempen in winter. An amusing story is told of his requesting the names of the fifty most beautiful ladies in the court. Conceive the disgust of the fair ones in whose breasts the highest hopes had been excited, when they were sent packing, on the ground that such conspicuous beauties should have no difficulty in finding husbands for themselves! It was Yoshimune who planted the beautiful trees which form such a feature of the palace moat at Tokyo to-day. He did much else for his country, planting sugar, rice, tobacco, the orange and the sweet potato, extending irrigation, and improving the curing of fish. He also permitted certain books to be brought in by the Deshima Dutchmen. In this again he contributed something toward the downfall of the Shogunate.

[1] See Lord Redesdale's *Tales of Old Japan.*
[2] Chu Hsi taught a philosophy generally known as Neo-Confucianism.
[3] 1653–1724.
[4] See Aston, *Japanese Literature*, p. 289; also Chamberlain, *Japanese Poetry.*

Two things, in fact, at this epoch must be regarded as leading toward the abolition of this institution. The first was the encouragement given to a Japanese Renaissance in the writings of patriots like Motoori, Mabuchi, and Hirata,[1] who did so much to carry the minds of men back to the conditions prevailing before the Tokugawa usurpation. The second was the spread of Dutch learning from the prison-house of Deshima to the minds of Japanese students of politics and medicine. Indeed, Professor Ukita of Waseda University finds specifically March 4, 1771, the date for the beginning of the New Japan when two Japanese students proved the superiority of Western science by dissecting the body of a criminal and comparing the results with Dutch books on anatomy. With incredible patience and zeal, students who have since been awarded posthumous honors labored at the translation and study of Dutch works, braving cheerfully all kinds of pains and penalties, in order to extricate Japan from the isolation to which the Tokugawa policy had condemned her. And while these men thus labored, the Tokugawa representatives grew less and less capable of maintaining the tradition they had inherited.

As for India, it is hard to compress into a few sentences anything which may give the impression of the moving and colorful interest of this particular period. We have already touched upon the relation of the Great Moghuls to the various European adventurers who made of India at this time their El Dorado. But this is only one aspect of a great epic.

The story of the Great Moghuls is at once the story of sovereigns every one of whom was "a genuine and original man" and also, as Sir W. W. Hunter has said, one of the most poignant examples in history of the vanity of human wishes, "an appalling tragedy of wrecked ambition.[2] . . . In Babar himself, literally the Lion, the Mughul dynasty had produced its epic hero; in Humayun, its knight-errant and royal refugee;

[1] See Aston, *op. cit.*, pp. 315 *ff.*

[2] Sir W. W. Hunter, "The Ruin of Aurungzeb," *Nineteenth Century*, May 1887.

Azam Shah, Third Son of Aurungzeb

in Akbar, its consolidator and statesman; in Jehangir, its talented drunkard; and its magnificent palace-builder in Shah Jehan." The story of Akbar, born and nursed amid hardship, sharing the perils of his fugitive father, with little prospect of recovering the lost crown, then fighting his way through a host of obstacles to the conquest of Rajput independence and to the title of Jagat Gur — Guardian of the World — is a splendid historical romance in itself. Then, outside the line of the Moghul heroes and in that of their foes, what a story there is in the heroic defense which the Rajputs put up against the Moslem! Take, for example, the tale of the siege of Chitor in 1567, when, after incredible valor displayed by the wives and daughters as well as by the warriors of the Rajput state, the leader, seeing all was lost, called together the eight thousand survivors, partook with them of the sacramental areca nut, put on the saffron robes of death, threw open the gates, and went forth to die. Few remained "to stain the yellow mantle by inglorious surrender."[1] After this one appreciates all the more the great qualities of Akbar's conciliatory rule and the fact that among his commanders of horse — mansabdars — fifty were Rajputs.

The student should read for himself the story of the successive reigns in relation to the domestic politics of India. Jehangir, 1605–27, a rebel son destined to experience the bitterness of rebellion in its acutest form from his own sons, had also his troubles with refractory Rajputs. After fratricidal wars came Shah Jehan, 1627–58, in whom the Moghul Empire reached its zenith. He bore to the throne with him the memory of many a campaign in which, as Prince Khurram, he had won glory from the native states. Both Jehangir and Shah Jehan were wise enough to follow Akbar's policy of conciliation when once the backbone of rebellion had been broken. Not so their successor, Aurungzeb, who from 1658 to 1707 held in his hands the destinies of India. It was this "Puritan Emperor" who stirred in the heart of the Maratha chief, Sivaji,

[1] Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan.*

the determination to strike for independence. "Never betrayed, even in the fever of success, into a single generous action," Aurungzeb had no intention of propitiating opposition. He repaid attachment on the part of Hindus by insult to their most precious prejudices, and made the subjugated conscious of their subjection by the imposition of obnoxious taxes. So came about a terrific struggle with the Mahratta, which paved the way for the downfall of the Moghul and the dominion of the English. The heroic Sivaji died in 1680, and his successor, Sambaji, continued the rebellion, only to be betrayed into the hands of Aurungzeb and slain. Aurungzeb was successful, but he had to become, as he was termed, "a peripatetic sovereign," always on the move to forestall revolt. He was, in spite of all, a man of genius and of many-sided parts. He knew the Quran by heart and wrote charming letters in Persian to his sons. Yet, with entire lack of scruple, he slew his brothers, got rid of their sons by laudanum poisoning, and shut up his aged father in prison till he died. He was brave in battle, turning back the torrent of defeat by having the legs of his elephant chained to the ground where the fight raged thickest. He was brave also at the end, when enemies of all kinds gathered themselves against him. There are few spectacles in history more moving than that of the lonely despot, over ninety years of age, writing from his deathbed the words: "I came a stranger into this world, and a stranger I depart." Then he gave his last commands, namely, that his funeral expenses should not go beyond the few shillings he had earned with the work of his own hands, and that the ninety pounds he had saved by copying the Quran should serve as his bequest to the poor. So passed the dour, hard-hitting bigot, "whom hostile writers stigmatize as a cold-hearted usurper, and whom Muhammadan historians venerate as a saint."[1]

After the death of Aurungzeb the decline was rapid, and it needed only the devastating raid of the Afghan Nadir Shah, in 1739, "sixth and last of the great Muhammadan conquerors of

[1] Hunter, *op. cit.*

India," to complete the demoralization of the Empire. With Afghans in the north and Mahrattas in the west, the way was open for the extension of European power.

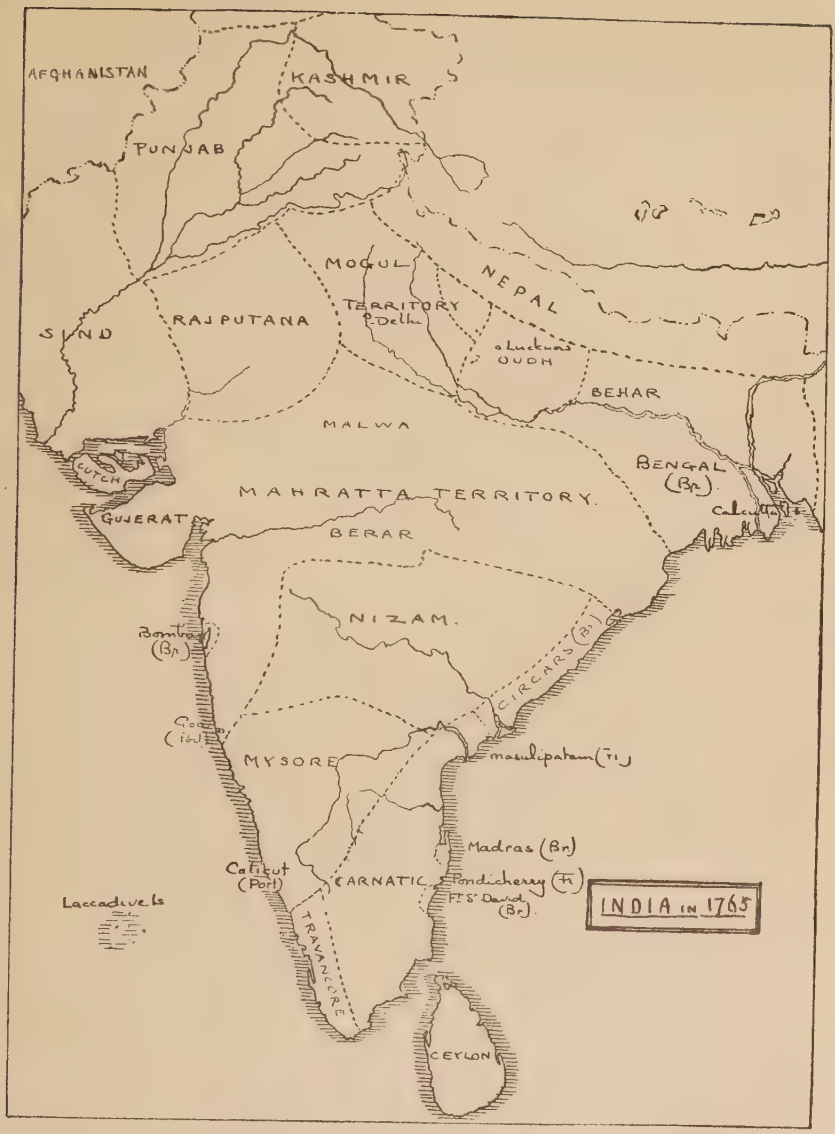
The circumstances under which Dutch, British, and French began their rivalry on Indian soil have already been described. By this time the Dutch, so far as India is concerned, had already been outdistanced. But the struggle between the French and the English had taken on the proportions of an epic, though in itself but episodical to the war in Europe. Dupleix, the French leader, had all the genius of a great statesman, but as a soldier was inferior to the English ex-clerk, Robert Clive, who from his seventh year onward was "out of measure addicted to fighting." The struggle was carried on by the French supporting one claimant and the English another to the throne of Arcot. This campaign culminated in the capture and successful defense of Arcot by Clive in 1751. With Coote's victory over General Lally and the capture of Pondicherry in 1761 the English triumph over France in India was assured.

Meanwhile, another campaign had been made necessary in Bengal through the cruel confinement of some one hundred and forty-six persons connected with the Calcutta factories in the "Black Hole" of Calcutta. This was the foolish act of a foolish and insolent princeling, Suraj-ud-Dawleh, who paid dearly for his folly. Out of the prison, eighteen feet by less than fifteen, only twenty-three persons were removed alive the following day. Clive terribly avenged the outrage in the great battle of Plassey, which was fought on June 23, 1757, and may be regarded as the beginning of British empire in the East. The military occupation of Bengal followed, with some years, about coincident with the time of Clive's absence in England, of discreditable administration by incompetent men. It was during these years that the Dutch took the opportunity to make an attack upon the English, but were defeated in an engagement described as "short, bloody and decisive." Clive came back in 1765 as Lord Clive, for his labors had been

rewarded with an Irish peerage. He proceeded to make the British rule a reality. He had tried to persuade Pitt to assert full sovereignty in India, and his governorship naturally had this end in view. In 1772 Clive was succeeded by one scarcely less famous, Warren Hastings, who became two years later the first titular Governor-General, presiding over a Council established by the Regulating Act. Of the rule of Hastings during the thirteen years of his holding office a volume might be written without overmuch indulgence in detail. Here it must be sufficient to say that at a time when, without an ally, England was confronted by France, Spain, and Holland, and by the revolting colonies in North America, Hastings had to face the Triple Alliance in India of the French, the Mahrattas, and the state of Mysore. Moreover, he carried through the situation successfully, to the defeat of Hyder Ali and Tippu Sahib, and to the maintenance everywhere of English authority. Yet, because of financial transactions at Benares and Lucknow, to which circumstances at the time compelled him, Hastings was called home and subjected to the famous trial which will be familiar to all readers of Macaulay.[1]

A paragraph or so is all that may be spared to fill a gap in the story of Persia and Western Asia in general. From the death of Abbas the Great in 1628 there is comparatively little of interest. His had been the golden age of Persia, the great time of renaissance in art as well as of success in war and administration. "When this prince ceased to live," says Chardin, "Persia ceased to prosper." Of his successor, Abbas II, the only question seems to be whether he died of drink or of some other form of debauchery. He is also recorded as changing the system of blinding his relatives by extracting the pupil instead of using a hot iron. The end of the Sufi — Safawid — dynasty came in 1736 and with it the end of a national monarchy. The instrument was the Nadir Shah, the terrible ex-bandit mentioned above as the invader of India.

[1] Macaulay's *Essays*. A full account of Hastings's career is to be found in Gleig's *Memoirs*.


AFGHANISTAN
KASHMIR
PUNJAB
MOGUL
TERRITORY
Delhi
NEPAL
SIND
RAJPUTANA
Lucknow
OUDH
BEHAR
MALWA
CUTCH
BENGAL
(Br.)
MAHRATTA TERRITORY.
GUJERAT
BERAR
NIZAM.
Bombay
(Br.)
CIRCARS (Fr.)
Goa
(Pt.)
MYSORE
Masulipatam (Fr.)
Madras (Br.)
Calicut
(Port)
CARNATIC
Pondicherry (Fr.)
Fts. David
(Br.)
Laccadives
TRAVANCORE
CEYLON
INDIA IN 1765

It has been said with some truth that the surface of the moon is in some respects better known than the region we call Afghanistan. Cut off by mountains rising to the height of 20,000 feet, enclosing valleys "so deep that the day's sunshine is gone within the hour," is a country of 250,000 square miles, situated between Turkestan, Persia, Baluchistan, Kashmir, and the independent tribes of Northwest India, which seems destined by its very geography to be a buffer state. Here are some millions of people claiming descent from Afghâna, the grandson of Saul, King of Israel — people still calling themselves Beni Israil,[1] who are inured to bloodshed from their infancy and trained by generations of experience to the defense of their passes. Five of these passes pierce the mountains which separate Afghanistan from India. Of the five the best known is the Khyber, which for thousands of years has been the main avenue for armies invading the peninsula. By this route came Alexander the Great, ere he crossed the Indus at Attock and defeated Poros. The story of Afghanistan is one long record of raid and warfare. Barbarian dynasties of almost every conceivable stock have here held precarious sovereignty, and have left their mark deep upon the art, religion, and character of the people. Here in the tenth century Sabuktegin, the father of Mahmud, founded the Ghaznavid dynasty. Here the Moghuls prepared themselves for their swoop into the heart of India. Here Moghul and Safawid disputed for the mastery of the valleys and the passes. Hither then came Nadir Shah for the recovery of Kandahar and Kabul. But ten years later the great ex-bandit was assassinated. He was succeeded by the young soldier who became known as Ahmad Shah, and who carried his victorious arms in the one direction to the Caspian and in the other far into India. He achieved still greater distinction even than this, since he was the founder of the Durâni dynasty, which still maintains itself upon the Afghan throne.

While Nadir Shah was lord of Persia, two Englishmen, Jonas

[1] That is, "Children of Israel."

Hanway and John Elton,[1] entered the country to establish trade by way of the Caspian. After Nadir's murder, Persia came under the dynasty of the Kajars, a tribe of Turkish origin, who at this time were unable to understand the language of the country they ruled. The founder of the line was Aga Muhammad, who, after a career of almost superhuman cruelty, was in his own turn murdered in 1797. So ends the century for Persia.

With the general history of the Turkish Empire we have little to do, since the capital had been transferred to Europe and it was upon European soil that most of the great Turkish campaigns were being fought. But there were also clashes of significance in Western Asia, less important in themselves than because of their influence in breaking down the legend of Ottoman invincibility. Bringing about the exhaustion of both Turkey and Persia by long-continued warfare, they helped to prepare the way for the further Russian penetration of Asia. Several incidents of these campaigns may here be mentioned. The twelve years' war between Shah Abbas and Turkey was ended in 1590 by a treaty which awarded to Persia the provinces of Georgia and Azerbaijan. A new war in 1603, "the year of insurrections," enabled Shah Abbas to reconquer Tabriz. Other fitfully conducted contests were ended in 1611 and 1618 by new treaties. Yet soon after, in 1623, came a great invasion of the Turkish Empire by Persia, which resulted in the capture of Bagdad. The prize was lost in 1638, and a treaty in the following year made the boundary which for the most part remained until our own day. Nothing more of importance occurred in the relations of the two Powers till the time of Nadir Shah. The great Afghan, in 1736, compelled Turkey to recognize him as Shah of Persia and to return the territories captured since the time of Murad IV (1640).

From the days of Nadir Shah the historic interest of Asiatic Turkey is less with Persia than with Arabia. The long repose

[1] Hanway, 1712–86, traveled through Russia to Persia and Central Asia from 1743 to 1750. Returning to England, he is known as the first Londoner who used an umbrella, carrying it with the same courage he had shown in the court of Nadir Shah.

and seclusion of "the silent peninsula" was broken in the middle of the eighteenth century by a movement, still of considerable political as well as religious importance, known as the Wahabi Reformation. Abd-ul-Wahâb, born about the close of the seventeenth century, grew up in much distress over the growing laxity of Muhammadan manners, such as was shown in the use of wine and tobacco, and in the corruption of Islamic worship, as revealed in the worship of Muhammad and of Muhammadan saints. He thereupon preached a revival and enforced his preaching by the slaughter of unbelievers and heretics. To every one of his soldiers he gave a written passport to Paradise in case of death in battle. Abd-ul-Wahâb died about 1791, but the movement developed and resulted in the capture and plunder of Mecca in 1803. It became so serious a menace to Turkish authority that Mehemet Ali[1] was called in to crush it by force. Of this we shall have something to say later. Here it may be added that it was during the time of this puritan reformation that Arabia was visited and studied by the Danish explorer Carstens Niebuhr,[2] "the first scientific man who has described the peninsula." It is largely from Niebuhr that Gibbon derived his information as to the Wahabi movement then beginning.[3]

There remains one "pocket" of land in Asia which has hitherto been quite passed by. This is the peninsula which we vaguely describe as Farther India. It includes Burmah, Siam, Annam, and the long tongue of land reaching out toward the islands of the Pacific. Unlike the other land-pockets we have considered, this is one with a very considerable hole in it, whence, we may infer, much history has flowed out into Indonesia and beyond.

Of each of the three countries now comprised in Farther India one generalization holds good: we may assume an original

[1] Pasha and afterward Viceroy of Egypt. An Albanian by birth, he served against Napoleon in Egypt.

[2] See Hogarth, *The Penetration of Arabia*, ch. 11.

[3] Hogarth, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

Mongoloid people, subjected to more or less continual pressure from the north, with the inevitable sequence of war, subjugation, and fusion. In the case of Cambodia, or French Indo-China, we have a fusion of the autochthonous tribes with an invading mass from the plateaus of Central Asia, producing the race known as the Khmers. From some centuries B.C. to the fifth century A.D. a Hinduizing process was also going on, which made Cambodia Brahmanical in religion. The nation grew in importance until the zenith of prosperity was attained under a really great monarch, Jayavarman III, in the ninth century. Soon after, the city of Angkor Thom[1] was completed. Its ruins to-day are one of the wonders of the Oriental world. But from this time on there was decline, and the neighboring Thais of Siam not only obtained deliverance from the Cambodian yoke, but even made reprisals. The Portuguese, moreover, began to come, though in this part of the world Europeans were never of much consequence till the arrival of the French.

Of Siam a similar story may be told. Here the fusion between Thais and Khmers took place early, and we have not much in the way of authentic history till the attack by the Mongols in 1250, an attack which "profoundly affected the whole of Farther India." The building of the city of Ayuthia in 1350 was the great event of the time and, as hinted above, Cambodia suffered from Siamese aggressions. The city of Angkor Thom was taken, and even Java in all probability was invaded. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Siam in turn had to yield to the military prowess of Burmah, and Ayuthia was more than once besieged. The Portuguese came in 1511 and maintained their preëminence for about a century. Pinto was here as well as in Japan, and adventurers like De Seixas and De Mello held positions of influence under the king. Then came the Dutch, and for about fifty years carried on their trade in a grasping and at times overreaching manner. English traders also began to be in evidence, though they abandoned the Ayuthia factory in 1688 and paid no great attention to the traffic. Japanese trade

[1] See Helen Churchill Candee, *Angkor, the Magnificent.*

was very considerable from 1592 to the closing of Japan in 1638, and many Japanese were resident in Siam. In the eighteenth century Siam was rent by civil war and another Burmese invasion led to the capture of Ayuthia in 1767. The intercourse of France and Siam began about 1680, when the notorious Cephalonian adventurer, Constantine Phaulcon,[1] advised the king to send an embassy to Louis XIV. This had an unhappy result, for the envoys who returned the compliment were a little too anxious to secure conversions, and intrigues with the Jesuits led to sundry calamities, including the death of Phaulcon, after torture, with the sword. "Thus died," says the Jesuit biographer, "at the age of forty-one, in the very prime of life, this distinguished man, whose sublime genius, political skill, great energy and penetration, warm zeal for religion, and strong attachment to the King, his master, rendered him worthy of a longer life and of a happier destiny." Just before the end of the eighteenth century the present dynasty of Siam was founded by a successful general who invaded Tenasserim and otherwise upheld the prestige of his country.

The present territory of Burmah was colonized from somewhere south of the Gangetic valley by tribes who conquered the original Mongols and created "the golden land of the South," the "Golden Chersonese" of Ptolemy. As in Java, the colonization was largely the work of Kalingas (Klings) and Telingas (Telugus), who came apparently from the mouth of the Godavery, by way of the port "whence men sailed for Chryse." The two races were distinguished in their new homes as Burmese and Peguans. Missionaries sent by Açoka about 241 B.C. are said to have converted the inhabitants generally to Buddhism, but the adoption of a pacific religion did not prevent the long interracial conflicts which delayed unity for many centuries. As in the case of Siam, Kublai Khan paid his respects to the Burmese and humbled them to his satisfaction. The three hundred years of war between Burmah and Pegu have much of interest, and its incidents may be

[1] See G. B. Bacon's *Siam*, ch. IV.

gleaned from the picturesque pages of Balbi, Frederike, and Pinto. The latter, describing the sack of Martiban, tells us that in that city there were 36,000 strangers, representative of two and forty nationalities. The halcyon days of Burmah — that is, of Pegu — were coincident with the invasion of Siam and the reign of the great king, Bureng Naung. After this came days of decline, the arrival of the foreigners, and the extension of Indian factories to the southern shore. The Chinese emperor, Ch'ien Lung, invaded the land in 1765, with results variously recorded, according to whether the source of the narrative is Chinese or Burmese. In any case, there was a treaty of peace and commerce in 1769. Our period closes with the reign of King Bodo-pra, the failure of another war with Siam, and the first encounter with the British.

Our survey of the history of continental Asia during the eighteenth century is now sufficiently complete to enable us, without cutting our communications, to essay an excursion among the islands of the Pacific.

CHAPTER XII

THE DAWN OF THE PACIFIC ERA

With so much to tell of the story of Asia and so little space within which to tell it, the extension of our narrative into the vast world of the Pacific might seem a work of supererogation. Yet, whatever may be the stringency of geographical distinctions, the story of Southern Asia or Australasia is, from the historical point of view, in very truth only the continuation of the story we have so far attempted to tell. This is true of the ethnic history, since the peoples of Australasia are mainly people forced out of the holes made in the southern pockets of Asia. It is true also politically, since in large part the discovery of the Pacific in modern times was the result of voyages made to and from Cathay.

What a stimulating story of human enterprise is scattered over the waters of this wonderful ocean! On September 29, 1513, Balboa first saw the Pacific and, ignorant of its vastness, called it, from the date of its discovery, Golfo de San Miguel. Four years later the conquistador was murdered by his father-in-law, so he had little profit from his discovery. Then came Magellan, and pushed out into the unknown waters which, with the optimism of inexperience, he christened Mer Pacifico. There followed the discovery of the Ladrones and Philippines, as already described, after which came, from opposite points of the compass, a race between the two Iberian kingdoms as to which should add new territories the faster. As for the Pacific in general, Portugal soon fell out of the running, not even holding New Guinea, to which she had first claim. The Carolines,

Solomons, Marquesas, and other groups all fell to Spain. Francis Drake toward the close of the sixteenth century carried the English flag around the world on the Golden Hind,[1] "but his mission was not to discover new lands so much as to vex the Spaniard." Fifty years later the Dutchman, Tasman, made from Batavia the memorable discoveries which immortalize his name, and the Dutch kept up their repute well for the remainder of the seventeenth century. The eighteenth century saw Dutch and French and English all at work, discovering and rediscovering, charting and annexing all over the ocean, in the meantime fighting the Spaniards or one another. Then, with the last years of the century, a memorable new era is inaugurated. The principal figure of this era is Captain James Cook, one of the very greatest names in the whole history of Pacific navigation. Rising rapidly from the position of boy on a coasting collier, through the grades of able seaman and captain's mate to that of master, Cook made himself an expert astronomer and mathematician; hence he was entrusted with the expedition of 1769 to observe the transit of Venus. From that time to the day he met his fate at Kealakekua Bay, Cook was engaged in the task of creating a new world out of the hitherto unknown ocean.

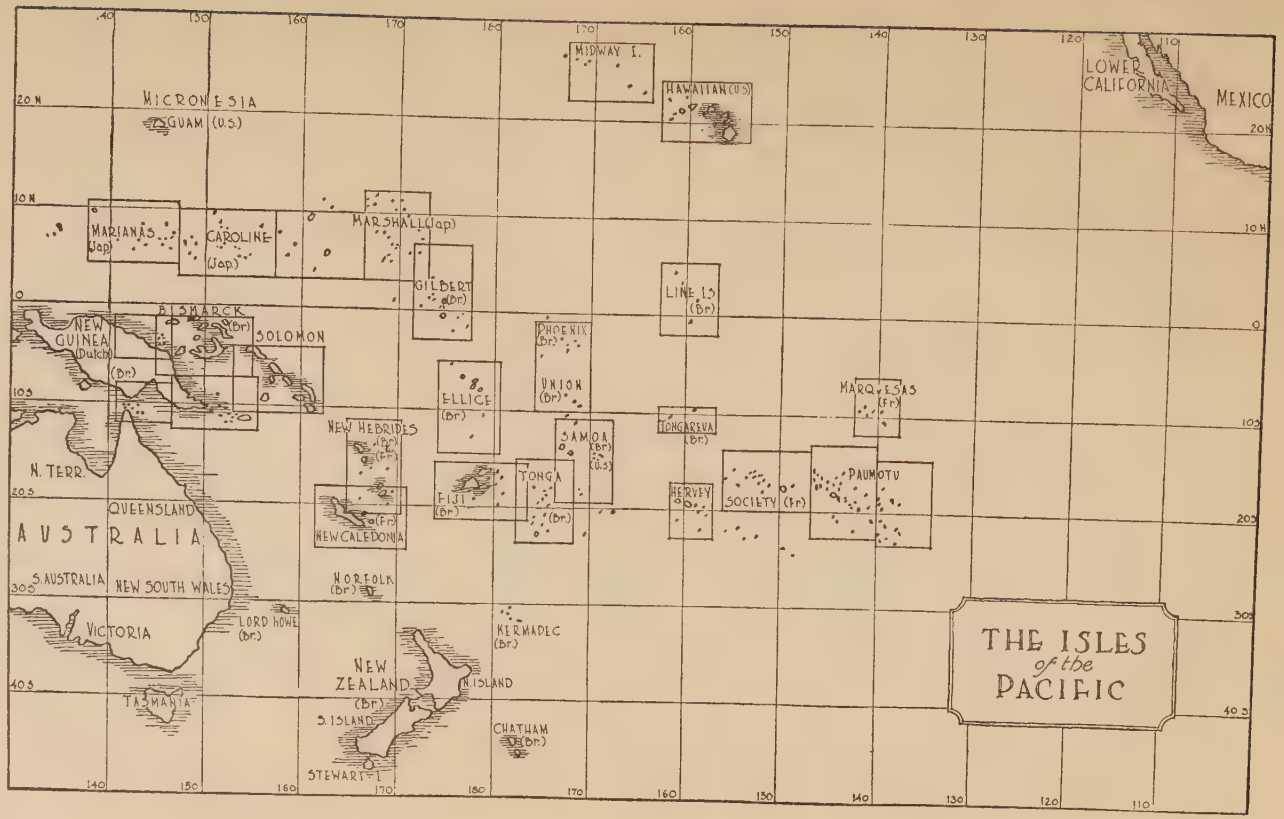
Indomitable, stern,
A hard, just, patient man, and taciturn.

Cook's success stirred other nations to emulation, and many famous names star the story of these concluding years of the eighteenth century. A new nation was added to those so far on the list by the voyage of the Russian Admiral Krusenstern around the world in 1804.

It will be fairer to mention some of these names in connection with some of the groups and islands they discovered. Let us therefore make a brief summary of the lands we have set within our scope.

Australasia is conveniently surveyed under five several

[1] See "Drake, an Epic," by Alfred Noyes.


MICRONESIA
GUAM (U.S.)
MARIANAS (Jap)
CAROLINE (Jap)
MARSHALL (Jap)
GILBERT (Br)
MIDWAY I.
HAWAIIAN (U.S.)
LINE IS (Br)
PHOENIX (Br)
UNION (Br)
ELLICE (Br)
TONGAREVA (Br)
SAMOA (Br) (U.S.)
MARQUESAS (Fr)
PAUMOTU SOCIETY (Fr)
HERVEY
TONGA (Br)
FIJI (Br)
NEW HEBRIDES (Br) (Fr)
NEW CALEDONIA (Fr)
NORFOLK (Br)
BISMARCK (Br)
NEW GUINEA (Dutch) (Br)
SOLOMON
N. TERR.
QUEENSLAND
AUSTRALIA
S. AUSTRALIA
NEW SOUTH WALES
VICTORIA
TASMANIA
LORD HOWE (Br)
NEW ZEALAND (Br)
N. ISLAND
S. ISLAND
STEWART I.
KERMADEC (Br)
CHATHAM (Br)
LOWER CALIFORNIA
MEXICO
THE ISLES of the PACIFIC

heads. The recitation of these divisions, with some reference to the time and occasion of their exploration, together with such verification of their place on the map as the student may find necessary, will serve to justify their association with Asia.

First, we have Malaysia and the Philippines. In regard to the former, without going back to doubtful and disputed tradition we may find in the peninsula and its immediately adjacent islands the bridge across which Dravidian and Hindu civilization passed into the Pacific. Hither ventured ancient traders for spices, as to the Chryse of Pomponius Mela[1] and Ptolemy.[2] Hither, as early as 1508 and 1510, came Portuguese merchants, eager to seize the monopoly in spices which for a time they controlled. Then came the opposition of the Achinese and a little later of the Dutch, till both combined to dispossess the earlier Europeans and so left Malaysia Dutch. The earliest British factory was set up in 1613, and over a century and a half later (in 1786) Penang was purchased from the native rulers. Thus was laid the foundation for the present British possessions of the Straits Settlements and the protectorate over the Federated Malay States. Some States retained their independence and some have remained under the sheltering suzerainty of Siam.

Of the Philippines we have already said something in a previous chapter and shall have more to say hereafter.

The second division of Australasia consists of Australia, the largest island in the world, Tasmania, and the New Zealand group. Of these islands there was probably some knowledge among the early Malays. Some have supposed knowledge on the part of Marco Polo. As far as western acquaintance goes, French authorities have claimed at least a sight of Australia as early as 1503, and the Spaniard, De Torres, with his Portuguese pilot, De Quiros, is said to have caught a glimpse of the coast in 1605. But the Dutch discoverers seem to have accomplished the first landing, and in 1642 Abel Tasman made the

[1] Pomponius Mela, III, 70. [2] Ptolemy, I, 14.

memorable voyage which revealed Tasmania to the world. The island was eventually named after him, though he modestly called it Van Diemen's Land. Tasman also discovered the South Island of New Zealand. Dampier was the first Englishman to visit Australia, in 1688; but a century later (1769–70) Captain Cook made the wonderful voyage in the Endeavor, which gave us our first detailed knowledge of these regions and much besides. Cook visited Australasia again in 1772 and yet again on his last voyage of 1777, while seeking to find the Northwest Passage between the Atlantic and the Pacific. Of the inland exploration of Australia, accomplished by a dogged little band of heroes including Oxley, Darling, Stuart, Burke, and Wills, it is not possible here to speak. Suffice it to say that the study of the aborigines and their customs not only has justified us in claiming for them an Asiatic — Indo-Aryan — origin, but has also furnished us with materials of inestimable value for the investigation of human life under primitive conditions. The colonization of Australia dates from 1788, when Port Jackson was founded as a penal station for criminals sent from England. Further developments during the nineteenth century we must reserve for a subsequent chapter.

The three islands of the New Zealand group,[1] together equaling the area of Great Britain, are known respectively as the North Island, called by the Maoris "The Fish of Maui," the South Island, or "The Place of Greenstone," and Stewart Island, or "Rakiura." The Maori people, who are of Polynesian stock, according to the tradition handed down, came from "the great distance, the far-away place, the gathering place of souls, from Hawaiki." Where Hawaiki was is not known, but that the Polynesians came ultimately from Asia is generally conceded. Of the last stages of their long journey we may infer a few things from their own legends. About 650 A.D. the seaman Hui-te-rangiora began the voyage which made the Maoris "a people accomplished in navigating vessels." On this voyage they may even have reached the Antarctic, since they

[1] See Condliffe, *History of New Zealand.*

visited "a foggy, misty, and dark place, not shone upon by the sun," where the sea was "covered with a stuff like thick fat." About 925 came Kupe — possibly a Tahitian — and gave the islands the poetic name still used, "The long, white cloud." The first definite settlement was after 1100, when more Tahitians came. Then about 1350 occurred what is called the "Coming of the Great Fleet," a movement probably spread over a long period. The immigrants brought with them a considerable, though primitive, culture.

> They knew the arts of peace, and with them brought
> Their women-folk, their dogs, the taro-root,
> The kumara, the gourd, karaka fruit,
> Rats, parakeets, the art of moko taught
> By Maui and Mataora.

Soon after this important event, touch with Tahiti seems to have been lost.

White men, or Pakehas as the Maoris call them, first reached New Zealand with Tasman in 1642, but the Dutch cannily kept their knowledge to themselves, so that the islands did not become generally known till the visit of Cook.

After the establishment of the convict settlement in Australia, traders found it profitable to exploit New Zealand. Flax was planted with no great success, but whalers and sealers found it a very convenient station. The unsatisfactory character of some of the settlers of this time moved Samuel Marsden[1] about 1807 to commence missionary work in the islands. He also ministered to the material wants of the people by bringing cattle, horses, sheep, and turkeys to add to the natural resources. Missionary developments maintained a rather doubtful rivalry with the introduction of firearms, and much trouble ensued between whites and natives and between tribe and tribe. The matter of annexation was considered rather reluctantly by the English Government, and the Treaty of Waitangi was signed

[1] 1764–1838. The five sheep presented to Marsden by George III were the progenitors of the fine-wooled sheep of Australia. Marsden labored in Australia from 1793 to 1814 and, from 1814 to his death, in and for New Zealand.

in 1840, by which the Maoris accepted the sovereignty of Queen Victoria in exchange for the full rights of British subjects and undisturbed possession of their lands. This treaty, designed to prevent the Maori lands from passing into the hands of unscrupulous speculators, has been called the Magna Carta of the Maori race; yet at the time it was denounced by many as a piece of "quixotic foolishness."

Our third division is Melanesia, the Black Islands, inhabited by a race generally divided among two stocks, the Melanesian proper, and the Papuan, or inhabitants of New Guinea, the largest island in the world after Australia. New Guinea was discovered piecemeal, first by the Portuguese in 1524 and again by the Spaniards in 1528. The name was given by De Retez in 1546. Many Dutchmen visited the island, including Schouten and Tasman. British interest was aroused almost coincidently by the voyages of Dampier and Cook. Other islands and groups in Melanesia are: New Britain, a long, narrow island with many volcanoes; New Ireland, at first thought to be part of New Guinea; the Admiralty Islands; the Solomons, so called because supposed by their discoverer, the Spaniard De Mendana, to be as rich as Ophir — the group was almost forgotten through the jealousy of Spain, and was rediscovered by the Englishman, Philip Carteret, in 1767; the New Hebrides, discovered by the Portuguese pilot, De Quiros, in 1606, when attempting to find the Southern Continent, visited also by the Frenchman, De Bougainville, in 1768, and by Cook (who gave the name) in 1774; Santa Cruz, discovered by the Spanish in 1595 and visited by Carteret in 1767, the scene of Bishop Patteson's death in 1871, under a British protectorate since 1898; and New Caledonia, partly discovered by Cook in 1774 and partly by D'Entrecasteaux. It was annexed to France in 1853 and used as a penal colony.

In the fourth place, we have Micronesia, the Little Islands. These are inhabited by people who differ but slightly from the Polynesians; they use rope armor and shark's-teeth weapons. Micronesia contains the Ladrones, the Pelew (Palao), and the

Caroline Islands, all of which we have mentioned in connection with Spanish rule in the Philippines; the Marshall Islands, regarded as German from February 1886 till the Great War; and the Gilbert Islands, discovered by Byron in 1765 and annexed by Great Britain in 1892.

Lastly, we have Polynesia — the Many Islands. In these are included Samoa, whose story is connected with the voyages of the Dutchman, Roggewein, in 1722, of De Bougainville in 1768, and of La Perouse in 1787. It was surveyed by Wilkes in 1839, and in recent times has been familiar to Americans in connection with Robert Louis Stevenson, who died and was buried at Vailima;[1] Tonga, or the Friendly Islands, visited by Schouten in 1616, by Tasman in 1643, by Wallis in 1767, a few years later by Cook, and placed in 1900 under the protection of Great Britain; the Cook or Hervey Islands, discovered by Cook in 1777, the scene of the devoted labors of John Williams,[2] the missionary, early in the nineteenth century, annexed to Great Britain in 1901, and attached to the government of New Zealand; Tahiti,[3] largest of the Society Islands, visited by De Quiros in 1606, by Wallis in 1767, by Captain Bligh in 1788, and ceded to France in 1850 by Pomare V, last of the native rulers; the Marquesas, discovered by Mendana in 1595, rediscovered by Cook in 1774, and annexed to France in 1842; the Ellice or Lagoon Islands, inhabited by people[4] who migrated thirty generations ago from Samoa, brought under British rule in 1892; the Fiji (or Viti) Islands, visited by Tasman in 1643, by Cook in 1773, and by Bligh in the Bounty in 1789, annexed to Great Britain in 1874, after the famous chief Thakombau had tried in vain to weld into one government the islands of the group; and the Hawaiian group, first called by Cook — after the then Lord of the Admiralty, the Earl of Sandwich — the Sandwich Islands. This group is of particular

[1] See Stevenson's *Vailima Letters.*

[2] 1796–1839. See Prout's *Memoirs of John Williams.* He was slain at Erromanga in retaliation for cruelties perpetrated by an English crew.

[3] Or Otaheite.

[4] Now all but extinct.

interest to Americans on account of its having become since 1898 an American territory.

During the eighteenth century Hawaii had a stirring history of its own.[1] Made up of populations which had drifted from the Asiatic mainland by way of the Malay peninsula and Tahiti at various times, the Hawaiian people were till the time of Kamehameha I ruled by independent alii or chiefs, mostly at war with one another. Kamehameha, born about 1736, was already an important chief when Cook made his two memorable visits. On the second visit the intrepid but indiscreet navigator lost his life at Kealakekua[2] Bay, on the coast of Hawaii, the largest island. Shortly after this event Kamehameha began that long series of campaigns which, after many discouraging episodes, ended in the final subjugation of the islands in 1795, and in the establishment of the monarchy which lasted until shortly before the American occupation. After the union of the islands, the rule of Kamehameha, till his death in 1819, was quite as remarkable as the military skill displayed in the conquest. Altogether we may consider Kamehameha I, "the Napoleon of the Pacific," as the greatest child of Polynesia *ma kai po mai* (from chaos until now). It was during the earlier successes of Kamehameha, in 1793 and 1794, that Hawaii was favored by visits from the sagacious British seaman, Captain George Vancouver,[3] who had much good advice to give to the warring chiefs. Vancouver was asked by Kamehameha to take over the islands on behalf of the British Government, but the annexation — indicated by the raising of the English flag on February 25, 1794 — was never ratified by the home government. The cession was dictated by Kamehameha's prevision of the troubles which were about to fall upon the islands through the increasing number of whaling ships and other trading vessels arriving in Honolulu, to the no small

[1] See Gowen, *The Napoleon of the Pacific.*

[2] That is, "The Landing of the God," so called from the visit of Cook, who was supposed to be the god Maui.

[3] See Vancouver's *Voyages.*

demoralization of the natives and the introduction of hitherto unknown diseases. The reign of Kamehameha II was marked by the breaking of the *tabus* — under the circumstances a doubtful boon — and by the coming of the first missionaries from New England. No subsequent Kamehameha was able to keep up the prestige of his ancestor, and, what with foreign complications of one sort and another, the monarchy declined rapidly in esteem.

Of the general spread of commerce, European and American, over the waters of the Pacific we must now proceed to speak. And the main interest of this part of the story is American rather than European.

At the time of the American Revolution the interest of the colonists in the Far East was mainly associated with the fact that they received their tea from ships of the East India Company, which took back to Canton profitable cargoes of the drug known as ginseng,[1] native to North America and highly valued by the Chinese as a kind of pick-me-up. In 1770 we find the export of ginseng from the Atlantic coast reaching the figure of 74,000 pounds. The East India Company at this time was even building some of its ships on the Atlantic seaboard. With independence attained, a great desire for the development of the China trade was manifested, especially in Salem[2] and Boston. Robert Morris writes to Jay in 1793: "I am sending some ships to China to encourage others in the adventurous pursuits of commerce." So the Empress of China was fitted out, and sailed in February 1784 by way of the Cape of Good Hope. For the first time the Chinese were brought into direct contact with "the New People." The profits of the venture were surprisingly large, and other ships were immediately thereafter sent. Samuel Shaw, who had gone on the first voyage, went again in 1786, this time with a commission from

[1] Or jên shên, "the *dernier ressort* when all other drugs fail." Probably has no pharmaceutical value. The importation of American ginseng (*Panax ginseng*) has now entirely ceased.

[2] For a good illustration of the importance of this trade, read Hergesheimer's *Java Head*.

Congress as consul, thus founding the first American consulate in the East and the only one in China until after 1844. The office was at first a rather empty one, as it possessed little but the privilege of flying the American flag, but the need for it grew daily, as American trade advanced by leaps and bounds and Providence became a serious rival to the Massachusetts cities.

A word should here be said as to the conditions under which trade was carried on in China at this time. In accordance with Chinese ideas as to the indignity of commerce, there was no regulation by the government, though some of the Emperors kept an "Emperor's trader" [1] at Canton. The main regulation was by means of trade guilds, called Hongs, which dealt with the foreign traders as a body and not as representatives of particular nationalities. This private management, little understood outside of China, had its manifest disadvantages, especially in the case of foreign sailors in trouble who had to submit to what passed in China for justice. But to many of the traders it was acceptable enough, since it permitted smuggling and other forms of illegitimate business. One of the most notorious of these was the trade in opium. Opium [2] had been known and used for medicinal purposes in China and other parts of the East from comparatively early times, but after the introduction of tobacco by the Portuguese in 1620 the practice had grown up of mixing tobacco with opium and smoking it. This vicious habit was first noticeable in Amoy, the port of entry from Manila, and in Formosa. Edicts prohibiting the traffic were issued from 1729 onward, but efforts made to stamp it out proved ineffectual. In 1773 the traffic passed from Portuguese hands to those of employés of the East India Company through Clive's conquest of Bengal. With curious casuistry the Company manufactured the drug in India expressly for Chinese consumption, but on attention being drawn to the pernicious effect of opium-smoking, they gave orders that no

[1] Appointed in 1702, but superseded by the Co-hong in 1720.
[2] See *Encyclopædia Sinica*, *sub voce* "Opium."

ships belonging to the Company should take any opium to China. After the close of the eighteenth century "they never carried an ounce of it in their own ships." [1] The responsibility for the demoralizing situation must, however, be shared by the East India Company with the smugglers who defied all law, foreign and Chinese alike, with the Hong merchants who evaded the regulations for restriction, and with the Chinese officials who were themselves frequently the slaves of the habit and not indisposed to make profit from its extension.

Other potential sources of trouble existed: the restrictions placed upon the residence and movements of foreigners; the heavy and uncertain port-charges; and the tiresome rules as to the kinds of cargo which were accepted. Yet, with all this, the trade grew and created for itself a curious lingo, known as pidgin [2] (business) English. It was a jargon which drew its vocabulary from several languages, and adjusted them to Chinese idioms for the convenience of those who dispensed with a linguist.

A revolutionary change in the relation of the United States to the trade of the Far East came through the discovery, late in the eighteenth century, of the importance of the northwest coast of North America. A number of circumstances combined to bring about this change. There was, for instance, Cook's discovery of the Hawaiian Islands, not unconnected with the discovery that furs and skins obtained on the northwest coast might be sold in Canton at fabulous prices. There was the work of John Ledyard,[3] an American sailor in one of Cook's ships, who moved heaven and earth for some years in the endeavor to draw attention to the significance of the Northwest. There was, again, the pioneer work of the Russians who plied between the American coast and that of Asia. There was, yet again, the readily discovered convenience of spending the summer

[1] Brinkley.

[2] Originated at Canton, when few foreigners spoke Chinese and no Chinese knew English; is now rapidly disappearing.

[3] 1751–89. See *Memoirs of the Life and Travels of John Ledyard*, by Jared Sparks.

at Nootka Sound in the collection of furs, then proceeding to Honolulu to pick up a valuable cargo of sandalwood (to be turned into incense at Canton), and thence sailing for Canton to dispose of the double cargo. Thus it came to pass, long before the founding of Astoria[1] by John Jacob Astor,— specially to take advantage of the opportunities the trade afforded, — that American traffic on the Pacific became exceedingly important. Shaw had in 1789 spoken of four American ships at Canton, but, as Latourette tells us, "in the season of 1804–5 there were 34, in that of 1805–6 there were 42, and in that of 1809–10 there were 37. . . . Although the total commerce of the United States had more than quadrupled in a decade and a half, that with China had nearly kept pace with it, averaging each year from four to five per cent of the whole."[2]

As time went on, unforeseen dangers appeared, such as the attacks of Chinese pirates and of English and French privateers. With the War of 1812 these dangers rapidly multiplied, and it is not surprising that for some years American trade on the Pacific sank to half its former volume. But after the peace of Ghent things rapidly improved, and American statesmen began to note in earnest the importance of Pacific commerce. One of the clearest signs of this is the emergence of the Oregon question into the arena of practical politics. On December 17, 1822, Mr. Floyd emphasized before Congress the fact that the settlement of Oregon must "open a mine of wealth to the shipping interests . . . surpassing the hopes even of avarice itself. It consists principally of things which will purchase the manufactures and products of China at a better profit than gold and silver; and if that attention is bestowed upon the country to which its value and position entitle it, it will yield a profit, producing more wealth to the nation than all the shipments which have ever in any one year been made to Canton from the United States."[3] It may safely be said, adds Latourette,

[1] Founded 1811. See Washington Irving's *Astoria*.
[2] Latourette, *Early Relations*, p. 56.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 57.

"that the Oregon country was preserved to the United States because of the importance it was felt to have in the Canton commerce, and because of the claims to it which the early fur trade had established."

About the same time it became obvious not only that it was necessary to take notice of the China trade in the interest of continental America, but that in the interest of American prestige in China something must be done to put that trade under governmental protection. The incident which did much to convert men to this opinion is that known as the Terranova case.[1] Terranova was a sailor on an American ship who in September 1821 accidentally caused the death of a Chinese woman by dropping something overboard upon a bumboat. As things stood, he had to be surrendered to the Chinese authorities, to be barbarously strangled without a chance of trial according to legal form. It was plain that the lack of proper diplomatic intercourse and the insistence by the Chinese upon their right to regard Americans — in common with other foreigners — as outside barbarians, was hastening a crisis. Moreover, the United States was getting interested in other parts of the Far East besides China. The whalers on the farther side of the Pacific were suffering from the Japanese policy of segregation, since, in the case of those who drifted ashore after shipwreck or other misadventure, there were no means available for their repatriation. It was for this reason that, in 1815, the same year in which Decatur was sent to the Mediterranean to settle affairs in Algiers with a squadron, Commodore Porter addressed a letter to Secretary Monroe, asking that a similar squadron might be sent to Japan. About the same time John Quincy Adams urged that "it was the duty of Christian nations to open Japan, and that it was the duty of Japan to respond to the demands of the world, as no nation had a right to withhold its quota to the general progress of mankind." Under President Jackson it was suggested that Mr. Edmund Roberts be appointed a special agent in the Orient for the negotiation

[1] See Sir J. F. Davis, *The Chinese*, ch. III.

of treaties. This was soon after the sending of an expedition to Sumatra to punish the natives for the plunder of the Friendship. Roberts visited a number of places, including Manila, Canton, Cochin-China, Siam, and Muscat. In the last two places he concluded treaties, but in China he did not even succeed in getting into communication with the governor. Jackson did not accomplish much with his Oriental policy, but he was certainly interested beyond his generation in the future of the Pacific, as is again illustrated by his dispatch of the Wilkes expedition to the South Seas.

One interesting incident of this new policy is to be seen in the sending of the Morrison. An American merchant of Macao, Mr. C. W. King, equipped this vessel at his own expense in 1837, for the purpose of fetching away from Japan certain shipwrecked sailors who had at various times been carried thither by the Black Current. The ship was named after Robert Morrison, the first Protestant missionary to China. Of one curious indirect result of this philanthropic venture we shall have something to say a little later, but of direct result there was none, since the crew of the Morrison were not even allowed to land. Mr. King continued to appeal to the United States for interest and action, declaring that "America is the hope of Asia beyond the Malay Peninsula, that her noblest effort will find a becoming theatre there." So far as Japan was concerned, some years had to pass before anything more was done, although in 1845, as the result of a report laid before Congress, by Congressman Pratt, Commodore Biddle was in the next year sent in command of the Columbus and the Vincennes, with a letter from President Polk to the Emperor of Japan. Commodore Biddle's mission, however, was — in the words of Nitobe — "worse than a failure,"[1] and "had the effect of lowering the dignity of his country in the mind of the Oriental."

Meanwhile, the United States had entered into treaty relations with China, under circumstances to be presently described.

[1] See Nitobe, *The Japanese Nation*, ch. x.

CHAPTER XIII

DECLINE OF THE MANCHU DYNASTY

With the abdication of the Emperor Ch'ien Lung in 1796 the glory of the Manchu dominion in China rapidly began to fade. The nineteenth century, beginning with the rule of Chia Ch'ing (1796–1820), was an era of disaster, during which the sword of Damocles hung over the dynasty, suspended by a thread wearing thinner and thinner day by day. The troubles which vexed China at this epoch were both of her own and of the foreigners' making. In domestic matters there were the secret societies waxing bolder and bolder, so that the above-mentioned Emperor was twice assailed by conspiracy, in 1803 and in 1813. On the second occasion it would have gone hard with Chia Ch'ing had not Prince Mien-ning (afterward the Emperor Tao–kwang) entered unexpectedly and shot two of the conspirators with a matchlock. In these attempts it rankled deeply that few were minded to rally to their sovereign's aid. "It is this indifference," exclaimed Chia Ch'ing, "rather than the poignard of the assassin, which hurts me most."

Hurricane and flood too came to trouble the politically minded, for in China convulsions of nature, equally with war and rebellion, are supposed to be the consequences of a badly administered government. There were certainly rebels secreted somewhere around Peking, said the Son of Heaven, and "hence it is that fertile vapors were fast-bound and the felicitous harmony of the seasons interrupted."[1]

More convincing to us, as showing the failure of the adminis-

[1] See S. W. Williams, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 465.

tration, is the fact that the pirates of the South, who were known colloquially as "the foam of the sea," became at this time dangerous beyond all precedent. This is saying a good deal, since the estuary of the Si-kiang has always enjoyed the repute of being the most pirate-infested water in the world. Even now ships take great precautions, not always with success, and the bricking-up of pirates in chimneys and the exposing of their heads in baskets somehow fail to discourage the rest. But at this time the pirates surpassed themselves and, whether lurking in wait for Siamese treasure-ships or ravaging the Kwang-tung coasts, did their part towards bringing the Manchus into further disrepute.

As for the relations of China with foreign countries, they are almost to be described in the same chapter with the account of snakes in Ireland. War was proceeding between England and France, and Chinese territory — as more than once since — was considered a sort of "Tom Tiddler's ground." So, in spite of the Chinese claim to the right of eminent domain in Macao, England seized the place in 1802 and again in 1808, to prevent France doing the like. When the war broke out between Great Britain and the United States in 1812, the English cruisers played hide and seek with American merchantmen in Chinese waters without scruple. At last China was moved to protest, and when protest failed there was resort to China's most potent weapon, the boycott. This took the form of interference with the tea trade. Then the necessity for supplying the tea tables of England with the national beverage brought out the suggestion of another mission on the lines of that headed by Earl Macartney. This time the head was Lord Amherst, formerly Governor-General of India. He reached China's capital August 28, 1916. Though accompanied by men who knew the country well, such as Robert Morrison and Thomas Manning,[1] the embassy proved a fiasco. It is difficult to apportion the blame rightly between

[1] The "T. M." of Charles Lamb's letters and essays. Lord Amherst objected to his flowing beard as incongruous.

Emperor, envoys, and mandarins, but it seems probable that it should be shared about equally. Certainly the fuss about etiquette was not all on the Chinese side. No interview with majesty was effected nor any good whatever accomplished. It is fairly certain that the sign was up for all the world to read: "Ambassadors not wanted." The Emperor had written somewhat earlier to George III: "With regard to those of your Majesty's subjects who for a long course of years have been in the habit of trading with our Empire, we must observe to you that our Celestial Government regards all persons and nations with eyes of charity and benevolence, and always treats and considers your subjects with the utmost indulgence and affection; on their account, therefore, there can be no place or occasion for the exertions of your majesty's Government."[1] Such an attitude pointed to trouble in the near future which was scarcely be to escaped.

Nor was the attitude of the next emperor any more promising. This was Tao-kwang, who carried on the Manchu tradition till 1850. From the gallant action in which he saved his father's life better things might have been expected. But as time went on he seems to have deteriorated, physically and mentally, possibly as a consequence of the many quackeries he used to improve his health. His private life, as well as his reign, was saddened by manifold trials. One of his sons was a scapegrace and a reprobate, devoted to the use of opium. The Emperor is said to have slain him with a blow struck in a moment of uncontrollable anger. The political troubles included rebellions in Central Asia, notably by a Kashgar chief called Jehangir, revolts in Formosa and Hainan, and a fresh outbreak among the Miao-tzu, an aboriginal tribe in the southwest. These were put down with more or less success, but there was one trouble which no effort on the part of China could overcome, namely, the trade difficulties with the foreigners at Canton.

It will be sufficient here to state the main facts as fairly and dispassionately as possible, recognizing that mistakes were

[1] See Sir Robert K. Douglas, *China*, p. 194.

made on both sides, chiefly for lack of the understanding which must ever be the principal line of defense against international conflict. Circumstances being as they were and the limitations of human nature such as they are, the result was almost bound to be what it was. One matter which must be taken into consideration is that the time was drawing near for the expiration of the East India Company's charter, and this fact prompted the British Government to prepare, if possible, a more satisfactory arrangement. The new plan was for the appointment of a commissioner to represent not merely the merchants, but the Government, and to have diplomatic relations with the Government at Peking. As stated in the commission given by George IV to Lord Napier, dated December 10, 1833, the objects were to extend trade in all directions possible and to open up communications with the capital. No real notice, however, was given to the Government of the appointment, and it was overlooked that the commissioner would have no means of controlling the merchants of other than British nationality, let alone the smugglers. So when Napier commenced his task there was scarcely a chance of success. There was even an element of burlesque in the bandying to and fro of missives in high-sounding language, which neither side could accept with self-respect. Poor Lord Napier, worn by unexpected rebuffs, caught a fever from which he died in Macao, October 11, 1834.

Things were at this stage when, in 1836, Captain (afterward Sir Charles) Elliot arrived to complete Napier's unfinished task. It was still a question of the Governor of Canton refusing to receive any other communication than a petition (p'in). Hence the war which eventually came is often called "a war over a pin." Then suddenly a new element was injected from Peking through the arrival of a sincere but doctrinaire Imperial Commissioner, Lin Tzu-su,[1] bringing a demand for the immediate surrender into his hands of the opium in the possession of the

[1] Subsequently disgraced by the Emperor, who said he was "no better than a block of wood."

foreign merchants. Elliot saw no way out of the difficulty but to advise the merchants, in the name of the Government, to obey the demand. The larger question of general trade relations he hoped to settle by negotiations to follow. The destruction of the drug might have gone far to clear up a difficult situation had not Lin confused the issue by other demands, such as that certain Europeans should be surrendered for alleged crimes upon Chinese soil. These demands were refused point-blank, and in the absence of any agreement for the regulation of the traffic, the opium business, stimulated by the clearing out of the market, recommenced with a brisk demand and heightened prices. Simultaneously two British warships arrived, and in the tension of feeling then existing it is not surprising that a naval engagement occurred (November 3, 1839) which transferred the dispute to the arbitrament of war. "It was the closing of trade," says the historian Wei Yuan, "not the forced surrender of the opium, which brought on the Canton war."[1] The war was a desultory campaign, carried on by the Chinese with no lack of courage but with little skill, and the British stormed the great city of Canton with a force of only five thousand effectives. It is important, however, for the Treaty of Nanking which followed, a treaty described by Dr. S. W. Williams as "one of the turning points in the history of mankind, involving the welfare of all nations in its wide-reaching consequences." The principal provisions are: the transfer of Hongkong to the British, thus turning a barren rock into one of the great trade emporia of the world; the payment of an indemnity of $20,000,000; and the opening of the five ports of Canton, Amoy, Fuchow, Ningpo, and Shanghai. The treaty was signed August 29, 1842, and the next year a supplementary treaty was negotiated, providing a tariff on exports and imports and mentioning the concession of extraterritoriality (permission for British defendants to be tried in their own consular courts) for the first time. In neither treaty was there any attempt to deal with the opium question.

[1] See Douglas, *op. cit.*, ch. VIII.

The first result of the Treaty of Nanking was to bring agents from Belgium, Holland, Spain, Prussia, and Portugal, and Ministers-extraordinary from France and the United States to obtain from China by diplomacy privileges similar to those wrested by Great Britain through war. To us it is of special interest that the American representative was Mr. Caleb Cushing, sent by President Tyler with a letter which has been much criticized for its "patronizing superiority."[1] It begins: "I hope your health is good. China is a great empire, extending over a great part of the world. The Chinese are numerous. You have millions and millions of subjects. The twenty-six United States are as large as China, though our people are not as numerous." This was evidently supposed to be the language suitable for the mentality of a Chinese ruler. Mr. Cushing, nevertheless, arranged a treaty which was signed July 3, 1844, and cleared up most matters in which America was concerned, promising revision of the tariff every twelve years, and availing ourselves of the rights of extraterritoriality. It should be remembered that most of the ways in which the European nations interfered with the sovereignty of China are — with the exception of annexations — ways in which the United States has shared by what is called the "most-favored nation" clause. We are still far from that happy innocence assumed in 1913 by the Department of State, of noninterference with the domestic concerns of China.

It is sometimes said that it never rains but it pours. This — literally true in China — has its political parallel in the middle years of the nineteenth century. Soon after the death of Tao-kwang and the accession of his son Hien-fêng arose that curious product of religious fanaticism, Hung Siu-chuen,[2] leader of the Tai-ping[3] Rebellion, which, in the words of a Chinese annalist, "lasted fifteen years, devastated sixteen provinces, destroyed six hundred cities," and, we may add, cost the

[1] The letter has been attributed to Daniel Webster.
[2] Born in 1813 in Kwangtung.
[3] That is, "Great Peace," a name strangely belied.

lives of at least twenty million people. Hung was a native of Kwangtung, Hakka[1] by race and literatus by ambition. Nominally a Buddhist until the serious illness which gave him his visions, he had imbibed some crude ideas of Christianity from tracts and a certain unattached missionary[2] in Canton, which led to the formation of the Society of Shang-Ti (God), and to his designation of himself as the Younger Brother (Ti meaning brother in the sense of subordination)[3] of Jesus Christ. The Tai-ping movement was at first a religious movement and attracted the sympathetic attention of some missionaries, but ere long, partly through the influence of the secret anti-Manchu societies, it became anti-dynastic. As city after city was captured and sacked along the Yang-tze Valley from Wuchang to Nanking, it seemed to many that the doom of the Ch'ing dynasty was sealed. But the setting-up of the Tai-ping throne at Nanking,[4] with consequent relaxation on the part of Hung, introduced a stage of the rebellion which, though including incidents of the utmost heroism, gradually led to a veritable orgy of plunder and massacre. When the foreign interests of Shanghai were threatened by the approach of the rebels, it was felt that the time had arrived to support the Manchus in the suppression of the revolt. So came about the raising of the "Ever-victorious Army," notable first for the exploits of General Frederick Ward of Salem, Massachusetts, — still worshiped by the Chinese as a god at his shrine near Shanghai, — and later for the career of Colonel C. G. Gordon, known as Chinese Gordon till subsequent adventures made him known to the world for all time as Gordon of Khartoum. By June 1864 the rebellion was in its last stages; the Ever-victorious Army was disbanded; the Imperial force was left to deal the *coup de grace* without foreign assistance. Hung committed suicide. An heroic attempt was made by one of his generals to escape with the

[1] Literally, "foreigners." The Hakkas are a gypsy race who possibly migrated to Kwangtung from Honan.

[2] The Reverend Issachar Roberts.

[3] The term for elder brother is "hyung" and means "spokesman."

[4] The old capital of the early Ming, who had driven out the Mongols.

Tai-ping heir, but both were captured and put to death.[1] The Yang-tze Valley has not even yet recovered from the devastation of those terrible years of wasted courage.

Hien-fêng's reign, 1850–60, had other miseries beside those caused by rebellion. The opening of Canton according to the terms of the treaty had been delayed under various pretexts, and in 1856 came the unfortunate "Arrow" incident, which led to a fresh war between Great Britain and China. The Arrow was a vessel flying the British flag, which was seized on suspicion of being concerned in the opium traffic. As a matter of fact, the Arrow merely served as the spark to kindle combustible materials which had been collecting for some years. The war was of the same general unimportance as that of 1839, but was waged over a larger territory, and this time England had an ally in the French, who found a *casus belli* in the murder of a priest in Kwangsi. The war would have been over earlier than it was had it not been for two or three acts of treachery on the part of the Chinese in the north, notably in the seizure of the envoys, Parkes[2] and Loch, when on their way to ratify the Treaty of Tientsin. Only eleven survived out of the thirty-six incarcerated for ten days in a Chinese dungeon. So the treaty of 1858 was only ratified in 1860 after further military operations.

The Treaty of Peking provided for an indemnity, for the cession of Kowloon[3] to England, for the opening of Tientsin as a port, and for the establishment of a permanent legation at Peking. The French obtained reparation for the confiscation of all lands which had belonged to the Christians from early Manchu times, and also (it is said, surreptitiously)[4] obtained the insertion in the treaty of a clause permitting French mis-

[1] General Chung Wang, "the Faithful Prince," was given time to write his memoirs before being put to death.

[2] Sir Harry Parkes, 1828–85, was later Minister at Tokyo and at Peking. See *Life* by Lane-Poole.

[3] On the Kwangtung mainland, opposite Hongkong.

[4] The clause is said to have been inserted by the French interpreter, Père Delamarre.

sionaries to secure land anywhere in the Empire. This last was extended by the most-favored-nation clause to other nationalities, and had important consequences. A terrible, but supposedly necessary piece of vandalism was perpetrated by the destruction of the famous Summer Palace,[1] which had been built under the direction of the Jesuits for the early Manchu emperors. No wonder Lord Elgin wrote: "War is a hateful business. The more one sees of it, the more one detests it." While England and France were having their troubles, Russia, running with the hare and hunting with the hounds, was at once giving information to the Allies and persuading China that her intervention alone was saving the land from foreign occupation in permanency. The reward of this diplomacy we shall see in the next chapter.

All things considered, the great advantage which came from the war was the arrangement by which the Powers were permitted to have their representatives in Peking, and by which China was invited to have her own representatives in foreign courts. In the case of the United States, the appointment of Mr. Anson Burlingame[2] was so happy that on the expiration of his term at Peking he was asked to go abroad as Chinese envoy to visit the United States and the European courts. He carried out his mission with an enthusiasm which somewhat misled his hearers, and in consequence a reaction was produced when it became apparent that the desire of China for reform had been overstated. Nevertheless, Mr. Burlingame's mission did good, in that it gave to the world a more sympathetic picture of China than it had hitherto possessed. It also secured the new treaty of 1868 between China and the United States, which recognized the Chinese right of eminent domain in the areas set apart for foreign residence at the ports, and, among other interesting provisions, contained the clause: "The United States of America and the Emperor of China cordially recognize

[1] The plans for the Summer Palace, or Yuan-ming-yuan, were drawn by the Jesuits Castiglione and Attiret for Ch'ien Lung.

[2] See *Life of Anson Burlingame* by F. Wells Williams.

the inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance, and also the mutual advantage of the free migration and emigration of their citizens and subjects respectively from one country to the other, for purposes of curiosity, of trade, or as permanent residents."[1] Mr. Burlingame's sudden death at St. Petersburg, in February 1870, cut the mission short and rendered it incomplete.

The language of the treaty of 1868 respecting the "inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance" will remind us that Chinese immigration had not yet attracted any popular hostility. The first arrival of Chinese in the United States was in 1848, when two men and one woman came to San Francisco in the brig Eagle.[2] Then came the discovery of gold, and that lure drew men from every part of the earth. In 1852 over 2000 Chinese came. At first they were cordially welcomed, and at a meeting held at San Francisco in January 1853, it was "Resolved: that we regard with pleasure the presence of greater numbers of these people among us, affording the best opportunity of doing them good." Later, when their number had increased to 45,000, the opportunity of doing them good was clouded by the fear lest the Chinese should swamp American institutions and corrupt American morals. Riots, in which lives were lost, began in 1871, and in 1876 a commission was appointed by Congress to study the problem. The next year a bill was passed prohibiting immigration, but it was vetoed by the President as contravening the treaty. In 1880 a commission went to Peking and obtained a modification of the treaty, to the effect that, when in the judgment of the United States Government the coming of Chinese laborers constituted a menace, "the Government of the United States may regulate, limit, or suspend such coming or residence, but may not absolutely prevent it." Thereupon Congress in 1882 passed a measure suspending Chinese immigration for twenty years. President Arthur vetoed this, but subsequently agreed to a

[1] Art. V. See E. T. Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 390, 391.
[2] See Speer, *China and the United States*, ch. XVI.

suspension of ten years. Later on, Congress hurriedly passed a bill in glaring violation of the provisions of the treaty of 1880, prohibiting the immigration of Chinese laborers. Further legislation was enacted in 1904, and the exclusion of Chinese laborers made absolute. China quietly ignored the measure.[1]

Having thus given a succinct account of events affecting the Chinese in this country, we go back to take up the story of China herself from the year 1860. In that year the Emperor Hien-fêng died. By a clever *coup d'état*, carried out by Prince Kung, the four-year-old child of Hien-fêng and the Empress Tzu-hsi was proclaimed Emperor as T'ung-chih. More important was the appointment as regents of the Empress-Dowager his mother and the other Empress-Dowager, chief widow of the deceased ruler. Of these two ladies, Tzu-hsi rose to be the virtual sovereign of China during three regencies. First, she governed in the name of her son from 1861 to the Emperor's marriage in 1872. The second regency began in 1875 with the accession of Kwang-hsu and lasted till his marriage in 1889. Then in 1898, after the Emperor's ill-fated proclamation of the Reforms of July, the strong-minded Dowager again seized the reins, to hold them till her death ten years later. Much of her influence was the result of sheer ability, and if her career be darkened by many crimes, she may still be regarded as the last of the great Manchus. That even foreigners spoke of her as "the only man in China" is testimony to the impression she produced upon other than her own people.

It was the fate of Tzu-hsi to live at a time when the power of the foreigner was rapidly extending itself over the Middle Kingdom. In some ways this extension was justifiable and even beneficial to China, as in the creation of the maritime customs at a time when, because of the Tai-ping Rebellion, the Chinese officials were unable to collect revenue at Shanghai. First created as a commission of three, representing Great Britain, France, and the United States, the maritime customs service presently was controlled by Great Britain as the major

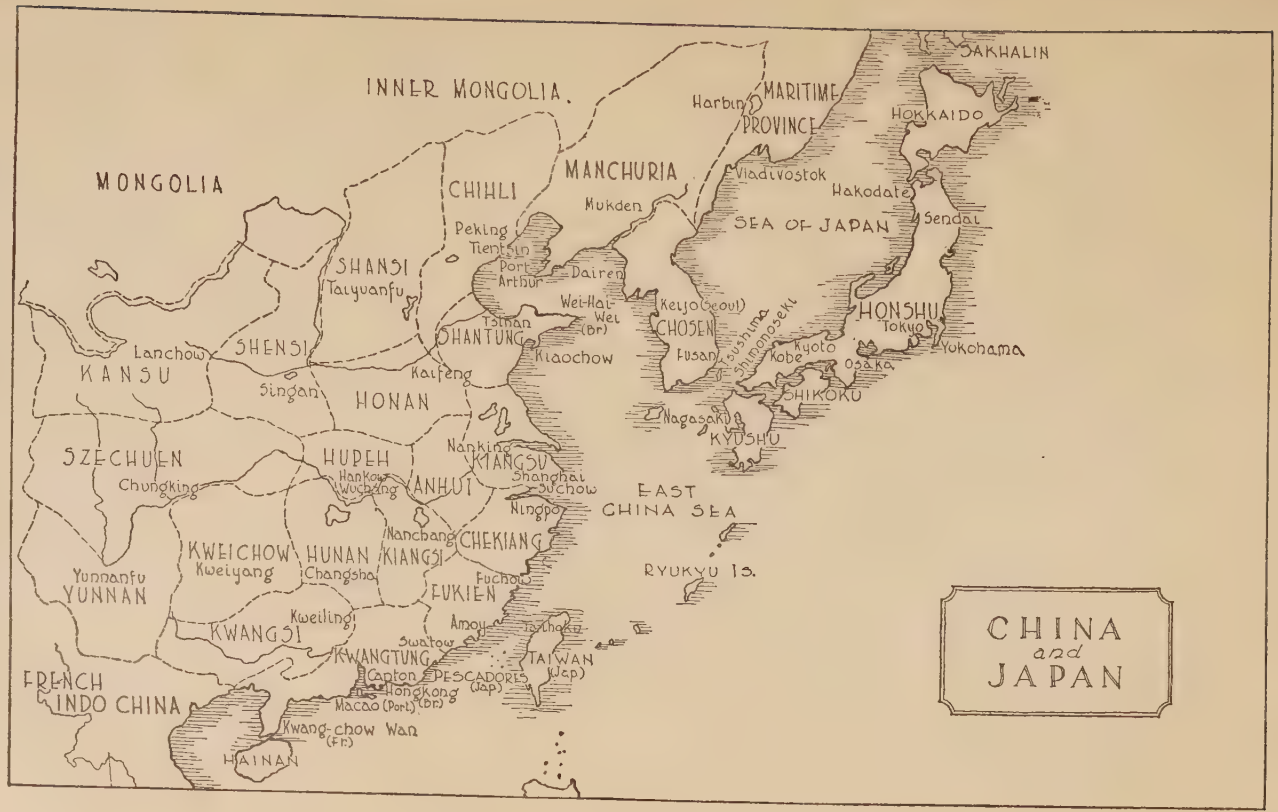
[1] E. T. Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 395.

trading nation. Sir Robert Hart,[1] the second Inspector-General, gradually developed a system which has been of untold service to China as well as to the nations depending upon the customs for the interest upon their loans. Hart held the inspectorship from 1863 almost to the day of his death in 1911.

In other ways foreign influence was by no means regarded with a friendly eye. A period was inaugurated which may be described as that of trimming down the borderlands of China. From very early times, China as suzerain had demanded and received homage and tribute from most of the neighboring nations. In many cases the suzerainty was fictitious, but so long as nothing occurred to make the suzerain Power "lose face," nobody bothered. Now, however, the Powers of Europe, like a pack of hungry wolves, were beginning to close in upon the Chinese borders.

First, we have the trouble with France, which had indeed obtained some territory from China as far back as 1787. But in 1858 further advance was made by the taking of Saigon and the extension of French influence through Cochin-China and Cambodia. After the Franco-German War France sought restoration of prestige in her colonial empire, and a treaty was made with Annam in 1874, without consultation with the suzerain power, resulting in the opening for trade of the Red River and its ports, Haiphong and Hanoi. The use of this territory for trade purposes soon brought the French into conflict with the guerilla troops known as Black Flags, who after the Taiping Rebellion infested the district. It was to punish these marauders that, without war being declared, the French carried on warlike operations during 1883 and 1884. These were carried on with considerable valor and skill on the part of the Chinese, but ended at last in a treaty negotiated by the good offices of Sir Robert Hart and signed June 9, 1885. Prior to the signature an unfortunate incident occurred at Liangsan, through the precipitancy of the French general, which brought about a French defeat and on the other side of the world the

[1] See Julia Bredon, *Life of Sir Robert Hart.*


INNER MONGOLIA
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CHIHLI
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Taiyuanfu
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SZECHUEN
Chungking
HUPEH
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Wuchang
ANHUI
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Nanking
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Suchow
Ningpo
CHEKIANG
KIANGSI
Nanchang
KWEICHOW
Kweiyang
HUNAN
Changsha
YUNNAN
Yunnanfu
FUKIEN
Foochow
Amoy
Taihoku
KWANGSI
Kweilin
KWANGTUNG
Swatow
Canton
Hongkong (Br)
Macao (Port)
PESCADORES (Jap)
TAIWAN (Jap)
FRENCH INDO CHINA
Kwang-chow Wan (Fr)
HAINAN
Peking
Tientsin
Port Arthur
Dairen
Mukden
Harbin
MARITIME PROVINCE
Vladivostok
SEA OF JAPAN
Wei-Hai-Wei (Br)
Tsinan
SHANTUNG
Kiaochow
CHOSEN
Keijo (Seoul)
Fusan
Tsushima
Shimonoseki
Hakodate
Sendai
HONSHU
Tokyo
Yokohama
Kyoto
Kobe
Osaka
SHIKOKU
Nagasaki
KYUSHU
EAST CHINA SEA
RYUKYU Is.
SAKHALIN
HOKKAIDO
CHINA and JAPAN

downfall of the Ferry ministry. M. Ferry bore with him henceforth the soubriquet of the Man of Tonking, but the gains from the treaty were not inconsiderable, entailing the annexation of Tonking and the establishment of a protectorate over Annam.

More trimming of Chinese vassal territory on the southwest came about through British operations in Burmah. The province of Pegu had been annexed by Great Britain in 1852, and ten years later the province of British Burmah was formed, with the expectation of extending trade into Western China. The unfortunate Margary affair in 1875, by which Augustus Margary,[1] a member of the British consular service, was murdered on the western frontier by Chinese troops, brought about the Chifu Convention. This opened certain river ports and gave permanent representation to China at the British court, but no gain in the way of territory. In 1878 came the accession of the notorious Thibaw to the Burmese throne, and his cruelties at length brought a British ultimatum and intervention in 1885. Thibaw was captured and deported, and on January 1, 1886, Burmah was annexed, to be incorporated eventually in British India.

Meanwhile, Japan was having trouble in connection with her neighbor Korea. It will have been obvious that from very early times the peninsula of Korea, or Chosen, had swung irregularly from allegiance on the one hand to China and on the other to Japan, rarely approaching anything like the equilibrium of independence. At the beginning of the Restoration era in Japan (1868) the Koreans sent no presents, declaring that they could not recognize a nation which had turned its back upon the ideals of the East.

It may be well to explain the relation of Korea to the outside world by a brief summary of her treatment of Christian missions. Christianity had been first made known in Korea when in the sixteenth century Hideyoshi's general, Konishi, brought with him as his chaplain Father Cespedes. It was not till 1784 that the first Korean convert, residing in Peking, was baptized,

[1] See *The Journal of Augustus Raymond Margary*, 1876.

and he, after converting several others upon his return home, apostatized under persecution. He was put to death, with six others. As Longford puts it: "He marched to death with martyrs, but was not a martyr; was beheaded as a Christian, but died a renegade." Somehow Christianity continued to spread, and at the beginning of the nineteenth century it is estimated that there were 10,000 Christians in Korea. The desire to have a Vicar-Apostolic led to the sending of Brugière from China, but he died within sight of his goal in 1835. His successor from Tatary crossed the frontier through a drain-pipe. In 1837 came the first Bishop, the heroic Imbert. These and others for the most part died as martyrs, after torments unspeakable, but the Koreans ceased to despise Christians. The great persecution of 1866 had as its cry, "Hatred to Europeans," and as swords were insufficient to slay the Christians, a guillotine was invented which took off twenty-four heads at once. Eight thousand Christians were executed and many more died in the mountains from cold and starvation.[1]

At this juncture the inability of France to avenge her subjects brought about the intervention of Japan, though other things were more directly responsible. Among these was the murder of fifty sailors from the Ryukyu Islands. China, as the suzerain Power, protested against the landing of a punitive force, but ultimately consented to pay the expenses of the expedition, thus tacitly allowing the claim of Japan to the Ryukyu group. Later on other circumstances brought about tension, notably the intrigues of pro-Chinese and pro-Japanese parties in the Korean court itself. Ultimately, following upon several tragic episodes, a *modus vivendi* was found by the Chinese statesman Li Hung-chang,[2] in consultation with the Japanese representative, Count Ito, by which it was arranged that if either nation found it necessary to send troops into Korea, due notice of the intention must be given. This ar-

[1] See Longford, *The Story of Korea.*
[2] See Bland, *Li Hung-chang.*

rangement held good till 1894, when the failure of China to keep the arrangement led to the war between China and Japan. Several other causes are of course to be remembered, such as the assassination of a Korean statesman, decoyed from Japan and murdered in Shanghai; the ambition of Japan to have something more than nominal influence in the country she had opened to the world; and the unrest in Japan, which made a foreign war an easy way out of a difficult domestic situation. Of the war itself we shall have occasion to speak in a chapter on Japan; it is sufficient to say here that it was concluded, after an extraordinary revelation of the military inequality between the two Oriental nations, by the Treaty of Shimonoseki, signed April 17, 1895. By this treaty China agreed to pay an indemnity, recognize the independence of Korea, open certain ports in the river provinces, and cede to Japan Formosa, the Pescadores, and the Liao-tung peninsula. The introduction of this last name brings us to a fresh episode in the spoliation of China and of her international complications.

The spectacular victory of Japan was noted with some concern by certain European Powers, who seem to have given the Chinese envoy assurance that no cession of continental territory to Japan would be permitted. Germany and France joined with Russia in the demand for the retrocession of the Liao-tung peninsula. Japan had no alternative but to comply, receiving an additional indemnity as some compensation for wounded pride. Russia obtained her own compensation immediately after in the permission to build the Chinese Eastern Railway across Manchuria, and a little later in obtaining a lease of the very territory from which she had ousted Japan. This territory included what is known as the Kuantung peninsula, containing Port Arthur and Dairen,[1] and permitting an extension of the Chinese Eastern Railway. The same year, Germany, through the opportune murder of two German subjects, was enabled to seize upon the coveted village of Tsing-tao on the Bay of Kiaochow, province of Shantung. France, not to be

[1] Formerly Dalny.

behindhand, then asked as her share of the plunder the lease of Kuanchow-wan on the south coast. Great Britain, having to choose between fighting the European coalition and sharing in the spoil, accepted the lease of Wei-hai-wei, in Shantung, over against the Russian leases. Even Italy was stirred to appetite by the rumored slicing of the melon, and asked for a port in the province of Chekiang. This demand, however, was looked upon as the last straw and refused.

There was much reason to suppose that China at this time was sufficiently moribund for the dissection of the corpse to be in order. The country was being nicely parceled out into "spheres of influence" when there came a turn in Chinese politics as startling as it was unexpected.

For several years the Emperor Kuang-hsu had been toying with various schemes of reform, especially under the influence of the remarkable scholar, Kang Yu-wei.[1] Indeed, schemes of reform were in the air. The issue, for instance, of Viceroy Chang Chih-tung's book, entitled, in its English translation, *China's Only Hope*, with an imperial preface, showed how generally desirous many of China's leading minds were for reform. In the early part of 1898 Kuang-hsu bought over a hundred foreign books, including a Bible, together with maps, globes, and charts. But he can hardly have had time to digest the reforms he contemplated when he launched, with pathetic eagerness and with little or no attention to means for carrying them into effect, the famous twenty-seven edicts of July 1898. The Empress-Dowager saw that instant action was necessary to save herself and her friends. She believed sincerely that all this Western reform was merely playing into the hands of the European Powers, so, using Yuan Shih-k'ai as her instrument, — a fact never forgotten by Yuan's enemies in later days, — the indomitable Manchu proceeded to act. The reformers were decapitated, or scattered in dismay. The edicts of September revoked those of July, and the unhappy Emperor was relegated to practical imprisonment for the rest of his life. He would

[1] Called the Modern Confucius. Now a moderate monarchist.

Tzu Hsi, "The Only Man in China"

From a photograph in the office of the Chief of the Division of Far Eastern Affairs at the State Department, Washington

probably have been slain but for warning addressed to the Empress by the foreign representatives.

So began, in 1898, the third regency of the great Empress-Dowager, at the very time when the United States was entering upon her responsibilities as an Oriental Power through the acquisition of the Philippines. Of the policy of the Open Door projected into the politics of the Orient by Secretary Hay, we shall have something to say later. Here we may note that the American intervention came too late to avert the explosion of Chinese indignation against foreign aggression, which broke forth in the Boxer revolt[1] of 1900.

How the anti-Manchu organization of the Righteous-Harmony-Fists-Association (Boxers) came to be transformed into a dynastic weapon against the foreigner is not easy to explain. The fact itself is a remarkable testimony to the Dowager's personality and diplomatic skill. Yet Tzu-hsi was only half converted to their cause, and the singular indecision which pervaded Peking during the revolt and the consequent siege of the legations must be regarded as one of the main reasons for the eventual preservation of the foreigners. To Jung-lu, the Dowager's staunch friend, to those heroic officials in Peking who altered the imperial edict and suffered accordingly, and to the better informed among the provincial governors it was due that the foreign community was not entirely wiped out. Account must also be taken of the resolution of the besieged, not only in the legations but also in the French Cathedral,[2] and at many isolated danger-spots throughout the affected districts. The arrival of the Allied troops in August 1900 was an event whose echoes around the world were joyfully acclaimed. But amid all the congratulations which the nations passed on, one to another, there were undercurrents of shame for a victory transformed in many places into an orgy of butchery and looting.[3]

[1] There is a large literature on the Boxer revolt. *The Boxer Uprising* by C. H. Deane is good.

[2] See Pierre Loti's *Les Derniers Jours de Pekin.*

[3] See Putnam Weale, *Indiscreet Letters from Peking.*

Peace negotiations at once began, though the concert of Powers was difficult to keep in tune. Russia, indeed, soon withdrew to pursue her own separate ends. The main results were that certain guilty officials were to be punished, the importation of arms was to be forbidden for a term of years, the customary examinations were to be suspended for five years, the Tsung-li Yamên or make-believe Foreign Office was to be replaced by a Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Wai-wu-pu), and an indemnity of 450,000,000 taels [1] was to be distributed among the Powers. Of this last, a number of the missions concerned refused to accept their share, feeling that the blood shed was not to be valued in coin. The United States generously remitted the balance of its own share, after payment of the actual damages suffered. This balance the Chinese Government has used for the establishment of the Tsing Hua College and for the education of Chinese youths in the United States.

During the occupation of Peking by the Allies, the Empress-Dowager, taking with her the Emperor, endeavored to save as much face as possible by withdrawing to the western capital, Si-ngan-fu. In October the court once again returned to Peking, and the Empress did her best to appear in her old spirits, but the last bulwark of the Manchu domination was finally broken. Those years after the return must have been crowded with the ghosts of persons as well as of plans undone. Perhaps the Dowager's new affectation of being conciliatory to foreigners was not all insincere. Perhaps she had really come to the conclusion that there was something in the Western civilization she had flouted. At all events, she sent abroad the Imperial Commission of 1905 to study out a system of parliamentary government. She made also promises for the convocation of a National Assembly in 1908, published edicts against opium in 1906, ordered the old system of examinations to cease from 1906, and raised Confucius to the same rank as Heaven and Earth.

It was too late to save the dynasty. On November 14, 1908, according to the official account, the Emperor passed from his

[1] A tael is an ounce of silver, worth on the average about half a dollar.

troubled life. And within twenty-four hours the last great representative of the clan which had ruled China so long, the resolute old woman who had done her best, according to her lights, to save her land from spoliation, followed her nephew to the shades of their ancestors. Which of the two actually died first is not known, but the Empress-Dowager lived officially for a day in order to project her shadow still further over the history of her country by the nomination of the four-year-old Prince P'u-yi as Emperor, under the title of Hsuan-tung.

So the old prophecy of the Song of the Cakes was called to mind. There was once again on the Dragon Throne a child in the arms of his mother.

CHAPTER XIV

RUSSIAN ADVANCES IN ASIA

In a previous chapter we followed the earlier stages of the eastward march of the Muscovite Empire The Russian was "a pioneer by racial habit." In Yermak, with his broad shoulders, his sturdy frame, his eagle glance, was to be discerned the typical Russian pioneer. Under leadership such as his the van of conquest and colonization was ever on the move. For a summer month or two, afloat on rafts of logs, the colonists followed the streams farther and farther to the east; then in the long winter months, buried in the snow, they dreamed of still further advance. Thrusting ahead as the season allowed, resting when the winter forbade, they gained more and more Asiatic territory. Their goal came in sight when in 1636 they came at last within sight of the Sea of Okhotsk They might have cried, like the immortal Ten Thousand of Xenophon "The sea! The sea!"

Nearly a century later (in 1727) the Treaty of Kiakhta gave to the Russian explorers the title to vast regions north of the Amur. Then for a hundred years there was comparatively little change either in policy or in extension of territory. But increase of population came both by colonization and by an iniquitous exile system. Of this we hear as early as 1582, and from that date onward we see overmuch of both the crudity and the cruelty of this method of punishing disaffection. Art and literature alike have added pathos to the farewells taken at the famous boundary post on the Urals, and to the begging song of the exiles from post to post:—

"For the sake of Christ,
Have pity on us, O our fathers!
Don't forget the unwilling travelers!
Don't forget the long-imprisoned!
Feed us, O our fathers, help us!
Feed us, help the poor and needy!" [1]

Some improvements in the way of administration came with 1754, and various other administrative changes were made in the early nineteenth century up to the establishment of the Bureau of Exile in 1823, but the revelations of Mr. Kennan at the close of the century show what awful depths of infamy were unplumbed almost to our own day. One still shudders at the horrors of the march, of the dungeon and the torture — not least, the horror of the forwarding prison at Tomsk.

In contrast with this slow tide of human agony, crawling reluctantly eastward, we have also in view the wave of westward Chinese migration, which had been deliberately planned by the Chinese emperors to counteract Russian aggression. Tao-kuang, for instance, to replenish an empty treasury, put up for sale many of the public lands of Manchuria, especially in the province of Kirin. The consequence was that Chinese immigrants flocked into the new fields in such numbers that they rapidly transformed whole districts, "so that to-day Manchuria is to all intents and purposes exactly similar to the other northern provinces of China proper." [2]

While wave and counter-wave were thus more or less silently intermingling different streams of humanity, Russian policy was becoming increasingly and more consciously concerned with Western Asia. Illustrations are to be found in such episodes as the war with Persia in 1827 and the conquest of the Caucasus.

There is something epic about the clash which came about in that "mighty simmering-pot of nations" which stretches eastward from the Caspian into Central Asia. Out from these

[1] See Noble, *Russia and the Russians*, p. 205.
[2] Putnam Weale, *Manchu and Muscovite.*

regions had flowed the devastating hordes which again and again terrorized Europe. It was natural that there should be some return wave of those peoples, at length emancipated from the Tatar yoke. The initiative was taken by the Cossacks of the Urals, and almost from the beginning of the eighteenth century we have a series of incidents which form part of a great epic of subjugation. In 1715 Peter the Great sent an expedition under Bekovich, apparently in response to an invitation from the Khan of Khiva, to assume a protectorate. The expedition was treacherously attacked, and massacred to a man. In 1731 retaliatory campaigns forced the Kirghiz of the Middle Horde to surrender their territory to Russia. Now for the first time the Muscovite obtained the coveted foothold within the boundaries of the Khiva and Bokhara Khanates.

The beginning of the nineteenth century (1803) saw the submission of the tribes on the eastern shores of the Caspian. In 1832 the Little Horde in its turn submitted to the Orenberg government, and about the same time the Western Kirghiz were incorporated into the government of West Siberia.

Things were thus moving quite prosperously for Russia in Central Asia when the outbreak of the Crimean War suddenly transferred the interests of Asiatic Russia to the Far East. It was the Crimean War which gave the opportunity for a new and successful attempt to reach the Amur. The hero of this attempt was Nicolas Muravieff, a man who was said to unite "the wisdom of the statesman with the skill of the diplomatist, and something of the dash and enterprise of the explorer." As early as 1847, when Governor-General of Eastern Siberia, Muravieff had explored the mouth of the Amur and the Sea of Okhotsk. He also, through Captain Nevelsky, established in 1851 certain posts on the island of Sakhalin, and in 1852 founded the city of Nikolaievsk. When war was declared between Great Britain and France and Russia, Muravieff was sent out to prevent the seizure of Kamchatka by the British. He used the opportunity to follow the stream of the Amur from the transbaikal province. He reached Aigun with over a thousand

men, and, after a brief discussion with the head of the Manchu garrison, continued his journey to Mariinsk. About the same time an English and French squadron made an attack upon Petropavlovsk, which, after a good defense, was presently abandoned. The Russians continued to use the Amur till they had some thousands of men upon the Pacific front, and it seems likely that the successful defense made against the allies in this quarter helped to decide the Russian Government to pursue a Pacific policy. Muravieff had to return to St. Petersburg to plead his cause more than once before he got all the support he required. He had great ambitions, even extending to the acquisition of Manchuria, but the Chinese put up a formidable opposition, and in the end it was largely because of the approach of the English and French to Peking in the War of 1858 that the Muscovite got what he wanted on the Amur. Muravieff attained the pinnacle of his fame with the signature of the Treaty of Aigun in May 1858. By this treaty Russia "without the drawing of a sword and without any cost" obtained from China the left bank of the Amur and the maritime province east of the Ussuri. Vladivostok now became Russian, and other towns along the boundary were speedily founded to ensure tenure. Later on, China was inclined to repudiate the Treaty of Aigun, but the entry of the Anglo-French expedition into Peking placed the Russian plenipotentiary, General Ignatieff, in a position to drive a bargain with Prince Kung. The result was the Treaty of Peking in 1860, which gave Russia her Manchurian frontier. Muravieff was by this time rewarded with the title of Count and his general designation as Amurski served to commemorate the immense service he had rendered to the Empire. From this time onward Russia made great efforts to promote the colonization and self-support of the province of the Amur.

Meanwhile, Russian interest was once again shifting to the concerns of Central rather than to those of Eastern Asia. It had been the Muscovite policy to make commercial treaties with the Khanates of Central Asia and then await some

infringement to serve as an excuse for rather radical measures. Such occasions were not slow in coming. So we have, from 1864 onward, the absorption of large regions by the capture of Chemkent and Tashkent, and the appointment of a Governor-General for the whole district. Then, while the Russian advance was increasingly attracting the attention of the European Powers, came the successive contests with the three great Khanates of Bokhara, Khiva, and Khokand. The conquest of Bokhara was the first step. The Amir was defeated on May 20, 1866, but rallied with the support of Khiva. A carefully planned campaign of General Kaufmann issued in a decisive battle on May 12, 1868, when the Bokharan and Khivan forces were completely beaten. On the following day Samarkand fell to the invaders. The reduction of Khiva and the region in the lower valley of the Amu Daria — the ancient Oxus — took longer. Russia had as excuse the claim that marauding Khivans overran the Russian protectorates and were enticing the Kirghiz to rebellion. The capital was entered June 10, 1873, surrendering without the firing of a shot. The fugitive Khan presently returned and became the nominal ruler of a vassal state. His proclamation of the abolition of slavery, "as a mark of gratitude for the consideration shown him," has been regarded as a welcome fruit of Russian dominion; but against this we must set the hideous massacre of the tribesmen who from ignorance or neglect did not bring the Russians the sum demanded as tribute. The treaty of October 10, 1873, transferred to the Czar all the Khivan territory to the right of the Oxus.

Just at this point, further excuse for Russian aggression was afforded by the civil war which was raging in the Khanate of Khokand. This seems to have been more or less remotely connected with Muhammadan rebellions that had broken out in the southwest and northwest provinces of China. In Yunnan the Panthay Rebellion, as it was called, was waged by the Muhammadan chief known as Sultan Suleiman,[1] who

[1] Sultan Suleiman, properly Tu Wen-hsiu, sought to set up an independent kingdom with its capital at Tali-fu.

ultimately gave himself up on condition that his people should be spared. He poisoned himself, however, on his way to make the surrender, and vengeance was taken on his unhappy subjects. In Kansu, in the northwest, the Muhammadans also raised the standard of revolt and held out until the taking of Suchow.[1] The Chinese by this time concluded that all Islamites were rebels, and so gave orders for a promiscuous massacre of the Muhammadans. These in self-defense armed themselves, and in Khokand put themselves under the leadership of a surviving son of Jehangir and of his ambitious general Yakoob Beg. The latter swept the former out of his path and began the subjugation of the surrounding region. He soon obtained sufficient prestige to adopt the title of Athalik Ghazi.[2] His triumph was not displeasing to Russia, since it furnished excuse for the occupation of the disturbed areas. The rich valley of the Syr Daria was annexed in 1876 and turned into the province of Ferghana, with General Skobeleff[3] as governor. Yet the Chinese mills sometimes grind surely if slowly, and eventually the famous "agricultural army" of General Tso Ch'ung-t'ang reached the scene of rebellion. Supplying itself with food by lengthy sojourns at successive oases where crops might be produced, it was able on arrival in Kashgaria to break the power of the upstart Yakoob. The defeated leader died at Karla from poison and the rebel cities of Yarkand and Khotan submitted in 1878. Now came the more difficult task of getting rid of the Russian *locum tenens*. Demands having this end were made upon Russia immediately after the fall of Kashgar in December 1877, and the Chinese statesman Chung-how was sent to St. Petersburg to negotiate. The wily Russian so far overreached the Chinese diplomat that the latter returned with the Treaty of Livadia, by means of which the return of Kuldja was promised, on payment of five million roubles. Russia was to be permitted to retain Yarkand,

[1] In Kansu, to be distinguished from the Soochow in Kiangsu.
[2] That is, "the Champion Father."
[3] General Skobeleff was later one of the heroes of the Russo-Turkish War of 1878.

the passes of the Tien Shan, and the valley of the Tekes River. To China this seemed like paying too high a price for the return of one's own property, and a storm of indignation broke upon the head of the ambassador. Indeed, he was even sentenced to lose his head, and the execution would doubtless have taken place but for a personal letter from Queen Victoria. Then Marquis Tsêng[1] was sent to Russia to obtain more satisfactory terms. This he accomplished, after a somewhat face-saving manner, by getting the promise of more territory at a higher price.

This mild rebuff to Russia's policy of expansion did not prevent further advance. The Tekke Turkomans were still unsubdued, and the recent formation of the transcaspian province rendered their inclusion necessary. So came the opportunity of the famous cavalry leader already mentioned, General Skobeleff, who crowned the occasion with signal success in 1881. So far as the Tekke Turkomans were concerned, the battle was "not a rout but a massacre; not a defeat but an extirpation."

Russian policy now rested for a while, but possession of Merv[2] and the Merv oasis was assured by January 1884. The pushing on to the Afghan frontier went so far that in March 1885 a clash took place between Russian and Afghan troops at Panjdeh. This had the immediate result of awaking the British lion to something more than suspicion of Russian plans respecting India. The old legend of Czar Peter's policy had already made Great Britain Russophobe, and the feeling, which had been intense on several occasions since the Crimean conflict, now pushed the nation very near the brink of another war. Statesmanship intervened and two years of negotiation yielded at last a delimitation agreement, which was signed in July 1887. Unfortunately the avalanche headed off in one direction began to show movement in another. This was the Pamirs, "the Roof of the World," the meeting-point of the

[1] The Marquis Tsêng was envoy to France and Great Britain in 1878 and occupied other diplomatic posts till his death in 1890.

[2] In Hindu tradition, Meru, the ancient Paradise of the Aryan people.

three great empires of China, Russia, and India. This required more negotiation, "amidst a solitary wilderness, 20,000 feet above sea level . . . within the ken of no living creature except the Pamir eagles." The difficulty was peacefully terminated by a convention signed in 1895. By this time Russophobia had, in England at least, become much less dangerous.

There was really no reason for Russia to be disappointed with the growth of her Asiatic empire. In seventy years her colonists had traversed the whole breadth of the continent, whereas it took two hundred for the colonists in America to do the like. In the one reign of Alexander III (1881–94) Russian territory had increased by nearly half a million square kilometres, and progress was still being made.

To give full strategical value to the policy of expansion, Alexander III had in 1891 authorized the construction of the Trans-Siberian Railway. The start was made on May 12 of the same year by the Czarevitch (afterward Nicolas II), and the work was continuous with the latter reign. It was a wonderful event for the history of Asia. The trains which crawled like black serpents from the steel bridge over the Volga across the boundless steppes and through the densely wooded regions beyond, past cities which expanded at their touch from collections of log houses to thriving business communities, were history-makers in the truest sense of the word. In 1898, to 4714 miles of the main line was added the line connecting with Port Arthur and Talien (Dalny[1]) in Southern Manchuria.

With such extension and expansion there seemed to be no assignable limit to the political ascendancy of Russia in the Orient. With a through line all the way on her own soil to the Sea of Japan, — from which China was absolutely cut off by the treaty of 1860, — she seemed to dominate alike China, Korea, and Japan. It is not surprising that Mr. H. H. Bancroft, writing in 1900, should speak overconfidently of the

[1] The Chinese "Talien" is the same as the Russian "Dalny" and the Japanese "Dairen." The old Chinese city, to which the name Talien is now generally applied, is about seven miles from the modern Dairen.

future of this "great Polar Power," with its cavalry army of half a million Turkoman horsemen, with its Asiatic territory of 6,575,000 square miles, as being able to dominate by peaceful methods anything it desired in Asia.

When, as a result of the Sino-Japanese War, Japan was awarded possession of the Liao-tung peninsula, it must have seemed a mere temporary annoyance to be easily brushed aside. Whatever the motives which actuated Germany in pushing her eastern neighbor into the Far Eastern adventure, Russia was actually benefited temporarily in several ways. The coalition with Germany and France, by which Japan was obliged to retrocede the acquired territory, was immediately serviceable to Russia, because the lending of money to China for the payment of the additional indemnity placed her under an obligation that prevented the refusal of the lease of that same territory in 1898.

Nor was this all; for the occupation of this part of Southern Manchuria furnished the basis for fresh advance, and this time in a direction which would make domination of the Far East permanent and complete — namely, toward Korea. Russia was comfortably indulging her peaceful proclivities in this direction by securing concessions for cutting timber across the Yalu, and in other ways, when the Boxer revolt took place. When the peace negotiations began after the suppression of this movement, against all efforts made to hold the Allies together Russia withdrew in pursuance of her own separate designs. These apparently included the continued occupation of Manchuria, avowedly because of the disturbed condition of the country. That this disturbed condition was not to any extent ameliorated by the presence of the Russians is luridly illustrated by the terrible massacre of Chinese at Blagovestchensk on the Amur, in reprisal for an attack made by Chinese upon some Cossack troops. Thousands of men, women, and children were ruthlessly driven at the point of the bayonet into the river and there perished. It was a crime that thoroughly deserved the nemesis so soon to overtake the Colossus of the North.

Russia's hold upon Manchuria was being tightened by the support of Li Hung-chang.[1] But other Chinese statesmen joined with Great Britain, Japan, and the United States in a vigorous protest. For a while nothing happened, and as the Powers did not seem likely to make the matter a *casus belli*, Russia saw no reason for budging. The humbled Dowager, back again in Peking, had much beside Manchuria to think about. Great Britain in 1904 was occupied with Tibet, into which country General Younghusband[2] led the expedition which entered Lhasa and sent the Dalai Lama fleeing into Mongolia. So, though the protests of the three Powers against the continued presence of Russia in Manchuria secured a promise to evacuate the territory in eighteen months from April 1902, there was no serious effort manifested to carry the pledge into effect. It was thus left to Japan by herself to push the matter to the ordeal of war. Knowing the issue to be one of life and death, yet with no real assurance of ultimate victory, the Eastern Empire staked its future on the justice of its cause, and on February 8, 1904, began a struggle which was fated to have consequences far-reaching beyond anything that the world's statesmen could then anticipate.

The Russo-Japanese War concerns three nations closely, but it will be convenient, with the necessary brevity, to tell the story at this point. First, it should be observed that the causes of the war were both in Europe and in Asia. In Europe it is now clear that the Kaiser was pushing the Czar into a perilous adventure, for purposes of his own. Germany concluded that there was more to be gained by weakening Russia in the Orient and so destroying her value to the French Alliance, than in herself joining the Anglo-Japanese Alliance.[3] In Asia the cause was less in Korea, where Japan had already obtained from Russia the recognition of her paramount position, than

[1] See, for estimate of Li, J. O. P. Bland's *Li Hung-chang*.

[2] See Edmond Candler, *The Unveiling of Lhasa*.

[3] See Tyler Dennett's *Roosevelt and the Russo-Japanese War*, p. 63; "Behind Russia stood Germany"; p. 65, the remark of Witte, quoted by Dillon, "Wilhelm II is the author of the war which we are on our way to America to terminate."

in Manchuria, where the affront of 1895 was still visible in the fortification of Port Arthur. In the second place, it should be remembered that for the localization of the conflict due credit must be given to the attitude of Great Britain and the United States. The latter was expressed by President Roosevelt, who practically made America "an unsigned member of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance" by his warning to Germany and France that he would go to the support of Japan if any third Power went to the support of Russia.[1]

With all this, it was at the outset almost beyond belief that Japan could successfully wage war with one of the most powerful of European militarisms. Nor is amazement much less in retrospect, even when allowance is made for Russia's distance from her base, for the corruption and incompetence of her officers, and for the unpopularity of the war at home. Japan was within her rights in taking the initiative, though actually the first shot was fired by the Russians when they encountered Japanese transports making for Korea. The conflict really opened with the almost simultaneous attacks made by Admiral Togo at Port Arthur and Admiral Uriu at Chemulpo. Each attack resulted in victory for the Japanese, and afforded the freedom necessary for the passage of troops to Korea and Manchuria.

Land operations began with the victory of General Kuroki's First Army at the Yalu, where the Russian commander, Kuropatkin, was ill-advised enough to order a stand. This victory opened the way to Liao-yang. Meanwhile, General Oku had arrived with the Second Army, and, landing on the Liao-tung peninsula, he won on May 26 the battle of Kinchou, thereby capturing Nanshan and compelling the abandonment of Dalny (Dairen). Then General Nodzu landed to join Kuroki at Takushan, and General Nogi began the investment of Port Arthur, leaving Oku free to check Kuropatkin's force that had been planning relief.

While the investment was being completed from the land

[1] Dennett, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

side, attempts were made to blockade Port Arthur from the sea, and during one of these attempts the Russian flagship, Petropavlovsk, with Admiral Makaroff on board, was sunk. The Japanese also suffered on the sea by the loss of the cruiser Yoshiro by collision and the battleships Yashima and Hatsuse by mines.

On land a great battle lasted at Liao-yang for the whole week commencing August 25, resulting in a tremendous Russian defeat. Hardly less serious in its effect upon the Russian arms was the battle at the Shaho, after which both armies went into winter quarters.

Meanwhile terrific and costly attacks continued to be made on Port Arthur, and the Japanese made the most heroic sacrifices for relatively small gains. Ten thousand men gave up their lives in the taking of 203-Metre Hill. Yet the assailants drew ever nearer to the citadel. General Kondratenko, the most skillful of the defenders, was killed; and at last, on January 1, 1905, General Stoessel surrendered the fortress to General Nogi.

In the early spring of the new year the northern campaign was resumed, and what has been described as — up to this date — the greatest battle on record was waged from February 24 to March 10 at Mukden. It was finally won by the Japanese, through a great flanking movement carried out by Nogi's veteran army, opportunely released by the capitulation of Port Arthur. In this battle the Russians lost 27,700 killed and 110,000 wounded. The Japanese loss in killed was scarcely less. The present writer has seen a monument at Mukden which states that the ashes of 23,000 Japanese soldiers rest within the enclosure.

Though the Japanese had had an almost unbroken series of victories, they were at this time in a critical position. The war was costing a million dollars a day and it was becoming increasingly difficult to contract loans. The diminished supply of men in the prefectures was endangering the rice harvest upon which the country depended for its life.[1] The lines of

[1] Dennett, *op. cit.*, pp. 280–7.

communication were getting longer and less secure for the Japanese, while becoming shorter and stronger for the Russians. Moreover, the sailing of the Baltic fleet from Europe had made everything depend upon the efficiency and vigilance of the Japanese navy. In this hour of suspense Togo did not betray the hopes of Nippon. The great fleet of twenty-nine Russian ships, under Admiral Rozentvensky, reached the strait of Tsushima on May 27, 1905, and was at precisely the right moment attacked by Togo. The battle of the Sea of Japan, in which the Russians lost their entire fleet, with 4000 killed and drowned and 7000 taken prisoners to the 116 killed and 538 wounded on the Japanese side, deserves to be ranked among the decisive battles of history.

The effect was electrical throughout the world. Though Russia's fighting-power was by no means so far impaired as to prevent her continuing the struggle, it was obvious that the psychological moment had arrived to suggest negotiations. Even with an incipient revolution adding to the demoralization of Russia, there was no discernible advantage to Japan in pushing beyond her already attained ends. Feelers had been put forth for some time, from various quarters, as to mediation. Both England and France had made some movement in this direction, but general fitness pointed to President Roosevelt as the proper person to intervene, and, after careful paving of the way through diplomatic channels, the President accepted the responsibility of calling the Peace Conference at Portsmouth, New Hampshire.[1]

At the Peace Table the Russian envoys were Count Witte and Baron Rosen, while Japan was represented by Baron Komura and Mr. Takahira. As something must necessarily be said of the Treaty of Portsmouth in the next chapter, it is important to say here only that, after some danger of deadlock and some characteristic speeding-up of the negotiations by President Roosevelt, a compromise on certain questions was reached, and the treaty was signed on September 5, 1905. The principal

[1] Dennett, *op. cit.*, ch. x.

provisions, as they concerned Russia, were that there should be an evacuation of Manchuria, leaving the Russian leases in the Liao-tung peninsula, together with the railway and other assets of the territory, in the hands of Japan. Russia was also to cede to the victor that part of the island of Sakhalin which was south of the fiftieth parallel of latitude, known as Karafuto. Possibly, had Komura held out, he might have won the whole. But Russia agreed not to fortify any part of the adjacent straits, and to allow the Japanese fishing-privileges along the shores of Behring Sea. Finally, Russia conceded to Japan the military, political, and economic dominance in Korea.

Whatever disappointment the treaty brought to the Japanese people, through absence of an indemnity and the failure to secure all Sakhalin, it was plain that Japan had won a very substantial victory. Russian foreign policy, making for the hegemony of Eastern Asia, had received a decisive check. In this respect, as in the case of the British wars with China in 1839 and 1858, the United States received advantage from a campaign in which she had taken no part. Nevertheless, the doom of the Northern Colossus had by no means been as yet pronounced. It was soon manifest that, in order to offset the efforts of American Secretaries of State — no longer acting with European preparation and coöperation — to obtain the neutralization of the Manchurian railways, it was to Japan's interest to come to some agreement with her former adversary. At first it seemed unlikely that Japan, without an indemnity, would be able to finance the railroads in question, and accordingly certain financial interests were looking for an opening. But Japan was fearful of the consequences of international participation, after losing the fruits of her victory in 1895. So she signed with Russia, July 30, 1907, the convention "of mutual respect for treaty and territorial rights, and guaranteeing the integrity of China." The danger of further conflict in the Far East removed, Russia was free to settle matters to the westward by a convention with Great Britain, which divided

Persia into spheres of influence and arranged other affairs to mutual satisfaction.

Prior to the Great War, we have only one further manifestation of the old imperialistic spirit of Russia in Asia. This was in connection with Mongolia. Even before the Chinese Revolution of 1911, there was in that country a nationalistic movement which looked to Russia for sympathy and to the Living Buddha as civil and religious head. With the Revolution a fact, an autonomous government was at once set up at Urga. The Russians recognized this without delay and concluded a treaty with the Hutukhtu, or Living Buddha, in November 1912, without the slightest reference to the suzerain government. Subsequent negotiations, however, on the eve of the Great War, led to a tripartite agreement by which Outer Mongolia was left under the nominal overlordship of China, while admittedly autonomous. Russia, moreover, was made free to develop railways, finance, and communications. How far this freedom would gradually have destroyed the assumed independence of Mongolia had not the war brought with it the downfall of the Russian Empire, is among the might-have-beens, as to which speculation is vain.

CHAPTER XV

JAPAN TO THE TREATY OF PORTSMOUTH

It has been made abundantly clear by a Japanese historian [1] that during the period of the Tokugawa Shoguns Japan was by no means either reactionary or even stationary. A very solid edifice had been created from the quarry opened by Nobunaga, with stones hewn by Hideyoshi, polished from the rough-cut by the able statesmanship of Iyeyasu. The two and a half centuries of this rule were definitely constructive and definitely preparatory to the progress of the Meiji era. The three cultural currents of the knightly classes of Yedo, the courtly classes of Kyoto, and the commercial classes of Osaka all contributed to the forward-looking attitude of the whole nation. Moreover, the long period of peace was conclusive evidence of the fact that Japan was not an aggressively militaristic empire.

Yet we have already seen some signs that the impressive fabric reared by the genius of the first Tokugawa was not quite secure against the inroads of time. Rifts were appearing in more than one direction. To change our metaphor, "the torch which had succeeded in giving blissful light to illumine the whole nation, burned at last the torchbearer himself with its blazing flame."

Illustrations of this are to be found in a number of things. For example, when Mitsukuni Tokugawa, lord of Mito, wrote his *Great History of Japan*,[2] he could not help revealing to a

[1] See Hara, *Introduction to History of Japan.*
[2] "Dai Nihon-shi." See Brinkley, *History of the Japanese People*, p. 645.

growing number of readers the illegitimacy of the Shogunal claims. When Motoori and others inaugurated the "Japanese School of Learning," they established the same rather unwelcome truth. When, again, the students of Dutch medicine made their surreptitious visits to Nagasaki and Deshima, they learned much of Western lore besides its science.[1]

Meanwhile other things, operating from outside, were tending in a like direction. There was the extension of American commerce to the Orient, which we have already discussed in connection with China. With ships plying across the Pacific, shipwrecked sailors stranded on the Japanese coast were becoming more and more numerous, and several suggestions were made as to how they might be repatriated. In connection with one of these, the projected sending of the Morrison, we get an interesting glimpse of the men whom we may fitly call the Japanese martyrs. While outsiders were beginning to knock at the closed doors, there were those within who were clamoring for the doors to be opened by Japan herself. This episode has had only a small place in the current histories of Japan, but it is well worth our while to devote a paragraph to it.

For the most part the men in question lived and died "to the cause they served unknown," but from their prison they toiled to make the walls thinner, that the outside light might break in. R. L. Stevenson described one of these heroes in his *Familiar Studies of Men and Books*.[2] It will be good to mention another. Takano Nagahide[3] was born in 1804 and in 1820 fled from the house of his adopted father to pursue learning. He barely avoided starvation by practising massage at night after a strenuous day of study at the schools. After a time he became a student of Dutch medicine, and while gathering herbs over the countryside he became impressed with the poverty and misery of the people. He had at times to sell himself in order to pay his debts, but eventually Takano reached

[1] D. C. Greene, *Jour. As. Soc. Jap.*, August 1913.
[2] Yoshida Torajiro.
[3] Greene, *op. cit.*

Nagasaki, where the famous Bavarian, Dr. Siebold, had lately arrived. He continued here to work and write for the redemption of his country from misrule. A list of fifty-seven works, in 213 volumes, includes such subjects as: *A Treatise on Analytical Chemistry; On Pneumonia; On Ulcers; A Treatise on Coast Defense; On Soap; The Essentials of Gunnery*, and the like. But the most important of all, epoch-making in its influence on the reopening of Japan, was the *Yume Monogatari* (Story of a Dream), in which the author, having got wind of the expected coming of the Morrison, defended the idea of foreign intercourse. From that day to the end Nagahide led the life of a hunted criminal, imprisoned, escaping only to be recaptured through the treachery of one to whom he had been benefactor. When the fugitive found the police upon his track, he made the necessary preparations, and with all the old heroic etiquette took the high way of the samurai out of life. Such a summary does little justice to a great career; but sometime the life and death of Takano Nagahide, Kwazan Watanabe, and their fellows will be worthily told.

Meanwhile, the ships of the foreigners were more and more insistently appearing on the coasts of Japan. The Shogun began to realize that he was between the hammer and the anvil. With all his desire to maintain inviolate the seclusion of Japan, none knew better the weakness of the land in the face of the "black ships." The Morrison came in 1837, but was fired upon in Yedo Bay. Its merciful mission only served to intensify the general unrest. The failure of Commodore Biddle has been already mentioned. In 1849 the Preble came to Nagasaki to take off the survivors of the Lawrence and Ladoga, together with Ranald McDonald of Astoria, whose story is a romance by itself.[1] All these things (to which should have been prefixed the capture of the Russian, Captain Golownin[2] of the Diana, with his crew, and to which may be added the visit of a French

[1] See *Life of Ranald McDonald*, by Mrs. Eva Dye. Also McDonald's *Journal*, ed. by Lewis.

[2] See Golownin, *Japan and the Japanese.*

ship to the Ryukyu group and the letters sent by the King of Holland to the Shogun) combined to create a sense of impending change. The final shock, destined in reality to reopen the long-closed portals, came with the visit of Commodore Perry in 1853–54.

When Perry entered Uraga Bay on July 7, 1853, he had with him five hundred and sixty men on two steam frigates, the Susquehanna and the Mississippi, with two sloops of war, the Plymouth and the Saratoga. In Kyoto imagination this was swelled to a total of a hundred ships and a hundred thousand men. Perry's mission was to use persuasion if possible; but there is little doubt that he was prepared to use force in the last resort to achieve his object. This was the current impression among those Americans who neither ignored nor ridiculed the enterprise.[1] One is struck with the absence of public sympathy or understanding of its political significance.

The Shogun Iyeyoshi was in a sad dilemma. Against all Tokugawa tradition he decided to call a meeting of the feudatory princes. The Kyoto court, more consistent but less well-informed, appealed to the gods of the various shrines, as in the old days of the Mongol invasion. The Shogun felt that immediate action of some kind was imperative, consequently the Americans were allowed to land and leave their letter addressed to the Emperor, instead of transmitting it through the usual Dutch channels at Nagasaki. It is clear that the Shogun's ministers felt the necessity a humiliating one, but greater concessions were to follow. Dr. Wells Williams, interpreter for the expedition, was warranted in writing in his journal for July 14, 1853: "Thus closed the eventful day, one which will be a date to be noted in the history of Japan, one on which the key was put into the lock and a beginning made to do away with the long seclusion of the nation." [2]

Perry was wise in not pressing for an immediate answer. He sailed away to winter quarters, promising to return early in

[1] Nitobe, *op. cit.*, ch. xi.

[2] "Journal of S. W. Williams," *Jour. As. Soc. Jap.*, 1910.

the spring. Two months later a Russian ship sailed into the harbor of Nagasaki with the demand for a commercial treaty with its own government.

The Shogun Iyeyoshi escaped from his perplexity by an opportune demise, but his successor was no better fitted to deal with the situation. Iyesada (1853–58) was, as Brinkley calls him, a witling, and was selected against the strong desire of many for Keiki, the capable representative of the house of Mito. But Keiki's tendencies were liberal, so the degenerate son of Iyeyoshi was preferred. It is possible that the personality of the Shogun counted little in any event at this crisis, as the struggle was between principles rather than persons. Perry's departure revealed the existence of three parties. There was the liberal party, prepared — even if perforce — to make terms with the foreigners. There was the party of compromise, ready to yield temporarily in order to gain time for preparing defense. There was, lastly, the chauvinistic party, with its slogan, "Revere the Emperor; expel the barbarian." By all parties hasty efforts were made to remedy the ills involved in long immunity from war. Forts were built, edicts against shipbuilding rescinded, cannon cast from temple bells, military manuals sought for, high and low. Yet Iyesada's ministers knew, as the others did not, the hopelessness of resistance. Even before Perry's return they had chosen their course, irrespective of patriotic protest.

Perry returned February 13, 1854, with greatly increased forces. It took little time now to establish such contact with the Government as to bring results. The first meeting was set for the eighth of March. It is amusing to note that the officers anticipated a feast on landing, for they took their knives and forks with them. They resented greatly the "flimsy banquet" which gave these weapons no opportunity for use. On March 31, a day memorable in history, Japan gave her adhesion, through the Shogun's government, to "the first formal treaty with any Western nation." The Treaty of Kanagawa contains twelve Articles. The principal ones provided for hospitable

treatment of shipwrecked sailors, the provisioning, under certain circumstances, of foreign ships, and the use of the ports of Shimoda and Hakodate, "the two worst harbors in the country." [1] In the exchange of courtesies which followed we find mentioned a long list of presents to the Emperor, Empress, and Princes. They include much Madeira, whiskey, champagne, and perfumery, and some useful articles too, such as books, telegraph wire, model engines, agricultural implements, charts, clocks, stoves, and so on, down to rifles, revolvers, and swords. Griffis asserts that the Emperor never saw these gifts and that in 1872 they were still lying "in mildew, rust, or neglect" in the ancient home of the Tokugawas. When Perry sailed away there was great commotion in Japan, but few people elsewhere realized that a new era had dawned for the whole of the Pacific.

The American treaty soon brought other nations to share its gains. The British Admiral Stirling came the same year; the Dutchman, Donker Curtius, followed; a little later came Admiral Poutiatine for Russia. The only change was the substitution, in the English treaty, of Nagasaki and Shimoda for Shimoda and Hakodate. As none of these treaties provided for the extension of commerce, the United States Government entrusted the task of remedying that defect to the first American Consul in Japan, Mr. Townsend Harris.[2] Mr. Harris has not yet received his due meed of American appreciation. His story, says Longford, is one "of marvelous tact and patience, of steady determination and courage, and straightforward uprightness in every respect." Nitobe bears witness as follows: "A man of stern rectitude and gentlest powers of persuasion, he, indeed, more than any other, deserves the epithet of benefactor because in all his dealings with us, the weaker party, he never took advantage of our ignorance, but formulated a treaty with the strictest sense of justice." [3] Through the

[1] Saito.
[2] See *Townsend Harris*, by William E. Griffis.
[3] Nitobe, *op. cit.*

exercise of these qualities, Mr. Harris secured the treaty of 1858, signed on July 29 of that year on board the Powhatan in Yedo Harbor. It provided for the opening of Yokohama (really Kanagawa) and Nagasaki to trade, Niigata and Kobe to follow at stated times in the near future. Yedo and Osaka also were to be opened both to trade and to residence. The trampling on the Cross and similar ceremonies were to be abolished. The principle of extraterritoriality was to be conceded, the tariff fixed by treaty, and the importation of opium forbidden. "This marked almost as great a change in the relations of Japan with the West as had the treaty of Perry."[1]

Similar arrangements were made a little later with Great Britain, and a dozen other Governments quickly followed. In certain Japanese quarters the treaties were received with consternation and anger. The Yedo populace found in the terrible earthquake of 1855 and the destructive fire which followed plain evidence of divine displeasure. The foreign ministers were boycotted and the "barbarian-expelling" party found ready sympathy in the court. The big clans, Satsuma, Tosa, Choshu, and Hizen, qualified their anger with some pleasure at finding the Shogun facing a crisis. At this point Iyesada, who had been only a puppet in the hands of his minister, Ii Kamon-no-kami, extricated himself from the dilemma by death. So "each of the two American treaties cost a reigning Tycoon his life."[2]

The thirteenth Tokugawa Shogun, Iyemochi (1858–66), was only twelve years old, and Ii continued in power, persecuting his opponents ruthlessly to give his authority some semblance of security. One of his victims was Yoshida Shoin,[3] another prophet and martyr of the new order. Yoshida had made several attempts to leave Japan as a stowaway on Perry's ships, and was imprisoned as a penalty for failure. Liberated, he began to write, advocating a remarkable programme. It

[1] Sir Rutherford Alcock, *Three Years in Japan*, ch. x.
[2] Alcock, *op. cit.*
[3] "Life of Yoshida Shoin," H. E. Coleman, *Jour. As. Soc. Jap.*, Sept. 1917.

included the opening of Hokkaido, the taking of Kamchatka and the Kuriles, the assimilation of the Ryukyu group, payment of tribute by Korea, the annexation of Formosa and a part of Manchuria. This programme, which has come so strangely near realization, was then thought treasonable. The advocate was carried in a cage to Yedo and there, after the writing of the pathetic *Record of a Baffled Spirit*, beheaded. "By the hand of the headsman, his refined and burning and reform-loving spirit was severed from his five-foot body, and caused to ascend to the high heavens." The minister's severity only served to increase the rising tide of indignation against the Shogunate — an indignation which the Shogun's politic marriage to a royal princess did nothing to allay. The full fury of the samurai fell on the head of Ii. On March 23, 1860, during a violent snowstorm, a band of ronins fell upon the unpopular statesman, slew him, and carried the bloody head to the daimio of Mito. Ii was succeeded in office by Yoshinobu (or Keiki), who a few years later became the last of the Shoguns.

Among the causes for unrest, the coming of the foreigners in increased numbers to take advantage of the new treaties must be reckoned almost the chief. Some came to reopen the work of Christian missions, and there was naturally great joy that the long era of persecution had come to an end. It was even discovered that some Japanese had, in a corrupt form, preserved the Christianity which Xavier had introduced among them. But the bulk of the Japanese people resented the coming of the foreigners for whatever cause, and of course many foreigners had come for purely selfish reasons. The drain of gold from the country was particularly resented, and scarcely less so the rise of prices which followed the opening of the ports.

The consequences of this ill-feeling were seen in the numerous attacks which about this time threatened to embroil Japan with the Powers. In January 1861 Mr. Heusken, a Hollander attached to the American legation, was assassinated. In July of the same year an attack was made by ronins upon the

British legation and several persons severely wounded. Another attack was made on the same legation in January 1862, and in September 1862 came the tragedy known as the Richardson affair, due perhaps as much to foreign indiscretion as to the anti-foreign attitude of the Japanese.[1] The refusal of the Satsuma daimio to make the reparation demanded for this outrage brought about the bombardment of Kagoshima.

A significant sign of the Shogun's waning power was the meeting of the daimios at Kyoto at the call of the Emperor; but the meeting, unfortunately, led rather to counsels of resistance than to a policy of peace. The great clans were disposed to take their own way, irrespective of national unity. Thus the action of the Choshu clan in firing upon American, French, and Dutch ships, following the blockade of the straits, brought in its train the bombardment of Shimonoseki by the fleets of the aggrieved Powers and Great Britain. The quite disproportionate indemnity of $3,000,000 was also demanded, a sum eventually assumed by the Japanese Government when the responsible clan refused to pay. It is satisfactory to note that the United States's share of this indemnity was refunded for purposes of education. Lamentable as the bombardments were, they served two useful ends: they convinced the clans of the necessity of national unity, and they showed the Emperor the futility of armed resistance.

The final step was taken by the new British representative, Sir Harry Parkes, compelling the ratification of the Treaty of 1858 by the presence of the British fleet at Hyogo, near Kyoto. The Emperor Komei was exceedingly angry with the Shogun for the general mismanagement, and Iyemochi, after a vain attempt to resign, died of chagrin in September 1866. Parkes's diplomacy, though of the gunboat order, secured a signal victory. There was clear evidence of the new era coming in the edict addressed by the Emperor to the Shogun: "The Imperial consent is given to the treaties, and you will therefore undertake the necessary arrangements therewith."

[1] Brinkley, *op. cit.*, p. 673.

Keiki (known also as Yoshihisa or Yoshinobu, and by other names) was now heir to the fallen fortunes of the Tokugawas. He probably knew the institution was moribund, but he was loyal enough to make whatever reforms were possible while occasion offered. So he employed French experts to remodel the army, and English officers to recreate the navy. Then, in a moment, the whole situation was changed by the death of the Emperor Komei from smallpox, on February 3, 1867. The new sovereign was Mutsuhito, known since his death as Meiji Tennō. At the time of his accession he was a youth of fine parts, and well disposed both by talent and by temperament to inaugurate the most notable period of Japanese history. A few months later the Tosa daimio addressed to the Shogun a memorable letter suggesting the surrender of his power into the hands of the Imperial court. In the same temper the Shogun addressed a letter to the Emperor, November 3, 1867, expressing the feeling that it was his "highest duty to realize this ideal, by giving up entirely" his rule over the land. The resignation was accepted, and so came about, quickly and dramatically, the change which is by foreigners termed "the revolution." Japanese prefer the term *fuk-ko* (return to antiquity), and later *isshin* (the renovation).[1]

The new epoch was formally announced in an Imperial edict of January 16, 1868, which furthermore urged the clans "to strive for the augmentation of the glory of the Empire." But unfortunately the change was not made without misunderstanding. For a time the disappointment of the ex-Shogun's followers expressed itself in what might easily have become a disastrous civil war. Perhaps Keiki's friends believed that the Tokugawas had been merely pushed aside to make way for members of the Sat-cho-to.[2] At any rate, a battle took place in which the ex-Shogun was defeated. He soon after surrendered to the Government, but his followers fought another engagement at Uyeno Park before they concluded that

[1] Uyehara, *Political Development of Japan*, pp. 43 *ff.* Hara, *op. cit.*, ch. XIII.
[2] The combination of the three clan names, Satsuma, Choshu, Tosa.

their cause was hopeless. Indeed, one loyal clansman, Admiral Enomoto, held out with his ships at Hakodate for a year longer. The Government acted with wise clemency and both Keiki and the Admiral were pardoned.

Meiji, the "period of enlightened government," was well named. The Emperor received the foreign Ministers — a unique event somewhat marred by an attack of ronins upon Sir Harry Parkes. He promulgated the Charter Oath, which promised the calling of a deliberative assembly (not necessarily a parliament, in our sense), and stated impressively: "Wisdom and ability should be sought after in all quarters of the world for the purpose of firmly establishing the foundations of the Empire." "The real importance of the Charter Oath," says Uyehara,[1] "lies in the fact that it was the first step in the determination of the leading statesmen of the period to undertake the national reorganization with the coöperation of the people, and adopt Western civilization in order to preserve the independence of the country and free it from foreign aggression."

Naturally, for some years there was an element of opportunism and even of haphazard in the new administration. There was a Cabinet, with President, Vice-President, and seven heads of departments. This was assisted by a body of eighteen councillors; but as yet there was no steady source of revenue, no national army and navy. An Assembly, the Kogishō, was convened to discuss such things as land-tax, the criminal code, the freeing of the *eta* or outcasts, and the like. This, however, proved rather a fiasco. As a specimen of its action, we may note that on the motion to abolish hara-kiri, only three voted Aye, two hundred No, while six refrained. This "quiet, peaceful debating society," as it has been described, was abolished October 4, 1870.

Yet certain reforms came with remarkable speed. Obsolete court offices and sinecures were suppressed. The Imperial capital was moved to Yedo, now called Tokyo, or the eastern capital. Presently, by an extraordinary act of self-sacrificing

[1] Uyehara, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

generosity, the feudal system itself was abolished. The prime movers in this surrender of class-privilege were the great daimiates of Satsuma, Choshu, Tosa, and Hizen. The inspiration came from a few individuals, notably from Kido, Okubu, and Saigo. By the change 400,000 samurai ceased to be the dependents of the clan chiefs and became pensioners of the state. A further edict of 1873 offered commutation of the pension on the basis of six years' purchase, and in 1876 the commutation was made compulsory. By this time national conscription had superseded the old plan of drawing soldiers from the retainers of the clans.

In the list of early Meiji reforms we should mention also the opening of the telegraph line from Tokyo to Yokohama in 1870. Two years later a railway was completed between the same points. The postal system, the mint, lighthouses, and the first newspaper date from about the same time.[1] The eta, descendants possibly of early prisoners of war, were emancipated. A Bureau of Ecclesiastical Affairs was created, separating Shinto from Buddhism, and making of the former a system for the preservation of the state ceremonial.

In another way Japan showed she was looking abroad and ahead, by permitting several of her distinguished statesmen to leave the country, to press in foreign lands her desire to be free from unequal treaties. Freedom to make her own tariffs and escape from the stigma of extraterritoriality were the things particularly desired. But for these Japan had still to wait many years.

At this juncture, Korean affairs began to be troublesome. At one time it looked as though Japan might be hurried into war with her backward neighbor. The return of Iwakura and his party from Europe came opportunely, and impressed the Government with the danger of foreign conflict at that time; yet the great Satsuma daimio, Saigo, was so strongly for war that he hurried home and began to drill his retainers after the old clan fashion. Thus while the war-cloud passed from over

[1] See Chamberlain, *Things Japanese.*

Korea, it burst in civil strife upon Japan itself. Saigo Takamori had probably not intended any trial of strength between his troops and the new national army, but his school for samurai was obviously a menace, especially after the abortive insurrections of 1874 and 1876. When the Satsuma rebellion of 1877 broke out, it was largely because Saigo's pupils swept their idol with them into a revolt which no one really intended; yet, when it came, it was a very serious affair. There were about 40,000 Satsuma men, splendidly drilled, and inspired by the chivalrous traditions of their class and race. Yet, though the Government had only raw troops, untested as yet in combat, the rebellion which began on January 29 was suppressed before the end of September. The slaughter on each side was large. All the rebel leaders perished, either in battle or afterward by their own hands. The national spirit was severely tested, since among those entrusted with the suppression of the revolt was Saigo Tsukumachi, the younger brother of the chief rebel, and Admiral Kawamura, a Satsuma man and a connection. It was the latter who, after the last tragic act, washed the bleeding head of his friend and attended to the burial rites.

Though to the outside world Japan seemed at this time to be turning everything upside down, employing Frenchmen to make an army, Englishmen to make a navy, and Americans to devise an education system, the people themselves were by no means satisfied. Having probably read into the Charter Oath more than was originally intended, they were impatient for constitutional reform. A great popular leader was found in Itagaki, who soon after 1875 organized the first political party in Japan, the Jiyuto, or Liberal party. Taking his cue from this, and from a remarkable demonstration at Osaka, Okuma, "the Peel of Japan" and the real leader of the Government since the death of Kido, created the Shimpoto or Progressist party.[1] This was quickly followed by an Imperial edict (October 12, 1881) promising the calling of a National Assembly in ten years. Over this delay there was some

[1] Uyehara, *op. cit.*, ch. III.

impatience, and a vigorous exploitation of the party system followed. This in turn produced a Conservative party (Rikken Teiseibo), with a programme of restricted franchise, bi-cameral legislature, and maintenance of the Imperial veto. But so unbridled was discussion of these and other things in the newspapers that a very drastic press-law was enacted in 1883, and the abolition of all the existing parties was decreed a little later.

A period of more constructive usefulness came in 1885 with the assumption of the premiership by Ito Hirobumi, destined to become Japan's greatest modern statesman, if not, as one has called him, "the greatest Oriental since Confucius." Ito in 1882 visited America, England, Belgium, and Germany for the purpose of constitutional study. In the last-named country he came into close contact with Bismarck, with results which were to appear later in the New Constitution.

Before the fruit of Ito's long labors appeared in this memorable document, there was a revival of the old question of treaty revision, shelved since the mission of Iwakura in 1878. The Meiji Government was not willing to remain under the disabilities of the treaty of 1858, nor were the Powers insensible of all that had been done to conform to Western standards. Preliminary conferences were held in Tokyo in 1882 and 1886, but a year later it had to be conceded regretfully that the question was not yet ripe for settlement.

So we come to one of the most important events in the modern history of Japan, the promulgation of the New Constitution on February 11, 1889. It was the new birthday of the nation — a day marred only by the assassination of Viscount Mori, Minister of Education, by a fanatic who resented his victim's unconscious irreverence at the Shinto shrine at Ise. The Constitution had been drawn up by Ito, Kaneko, Suyematsu, and others, but Ito was its chief author, even as he remained till his death its chief interpreter. The Bismarckian influence has been referred to, but the main model followed was the Bavarian; so it is not strange to find the Constitution referred to as the gift of the Emperor, who retained the power

ITO, MAKER AND INTERPRETER OF THE JAPANESE CONSTITUTION

Photograph by the Keystone View Company of New York

to govern by Imperial ordinance in the absence of legislation, dissolve the Diet at his will, have command of the army and navy, conclude treaties, and grant honors, amnesties, and pardons. The Ministers of State, moreover, were made responsible to the Emperor rather than to the Diet, though, of course, there is to-day a strong tendency to depend more and more upon the support of the majority in the House of Deputies. The Ministers in charge of the army and navy keep their departments out of politics, and remain largely independent of the Prime Minister.

The Diet consists of two Chambers, the House of Peers and the House of Representatives. The former includes princes of the blood, princes and marquises of the Empire, a number of counts, viscounts, and barons elected for seven-year periods, certain citizens nominated by the Emperor, and other citizens (subject to the Emperor's acceptance) elected from the highest taxpayers. The House of Representatives is elective, though at first the electorate was small and restricted. Now, at last, after much agitation, manhood suffrage has been conceded.[1] The election is for periods of four years and the Diet meets once a year. It was some time before parliamentary government got into good working order. Even now, as Mr. Osaki points out, there is much left to be desired. Dr. Katsuro Hara says: "Every good and every evil of the parliamentary system has been fully manifested in Japan." Between 1890 and 1894 there were four general elections, and the Government rarely had a majority in the lower House except in the war periods of 1894–95 and 1904–05.[2]

The causes of the war with China have already been briefly mentioned. One rather direct cause was the outbreak of the Tonghak insurrection in Korea — the work of rustic followers of a fanatic who had been executed as a Christian in 1865. Their system was really a mixture of Buddhism, Confucianism,

[1] Passed in 1925. By this Act the number of voters has been raised from about 3,000,000 to a possible 13,000,000.

[2] See Uyehara, *op. cit.*, p. xvii *ff.*

and Taoism, rather than in any sense Christian. The sending of Chinese help to the Korean Government led to the assumption by the Chinese Resident of suzerain rights. "It is in harmony," he said, "with our constant practice to protect our tributary states." Then came the assassination of Kim-Ok-kyum, the Korean progressive leader, decoyed from Japan to Shanghai, and the bringing of the assassin with honor in a Chinese warship back to Korea. Japan regarded the Chinese reënforcement which was sent as a breach of agreement, so the war began with the sinking of the transport Kowshing on July 25, 1894. In spite of the prevailing opinion that Japan must be worsted in such a conflict, the million ill-trained troops of China were in no way prepared to meet 70,000 fighting men of Japan. The Chinese navy, moreover, had behind it no sense of national unity. The Japanese successes were rapid and unbroken. Seoul, the Korean capital, was first occupied, and the Chinese defeated at Pinyang. Then came the defeat of the Chinese fleet, with four ships sunk, at the mouth of the Yalu. The crossing of the Yalu brought the Japanese into Manchuria, where, the freedom of the seas being secured, they were able to invest and capture Port Arthur. The siege and taking of Wei-hai-wei followed, and a further attack on the Chinese fleet led to its surrender and the suicide of Admiral Ting. It was time for negotiations, and these were twice attempted by China in an irregular way. Then a meeting was arranged at Shimonoseki between Li Hung-chang and Ito, which resulted in the Treaty of Shimonoseki, April 14, 1895. The terms have been mentioned in a previous chapter. They would doubtless have been severer but for a regrettable attack upon Li Hung-chang by a Japanese fanatic.

The spectacular success of the Japanese campaign had several important consequences At home it had the immediate effect of drawing more closely together the statesmen of the Empire and inspiring them with greater confidence in the stability of the new order. To the outside world in general it gave Japan an enormously enhanced prestige, such as went far

to justify the progress made in the matter of treaty revision. Viscount Chinda some years later spoke of the redemption of judicial and fiscal autonomy as during these times the dream of Japanese national aspiration, shaping her policies, both foreign and domestic, with this supreme end in view.[1] The victory had been really won before the outbreak of the war. The negotiations broken off in 1887 had been taken up again in 1889. On the basis of what was then accomplished Lord Salisbury had made new proposals in 1890, and these had in turn led to fresh negotiations in London in the spring of 1894. Just before the war began all was satisfactorily adjusted and the treaty with Great Britain signed. It provided for the cessation of extraterritorial privileges and for abolition of the other disabilities; but five years were to elapse before the treaty went into effect, to give Japan time to put her new judicial codes into operation, and to give the Powers opportunity to make similar treaties on their own part.

These Powers, accustomed to test national greatness by the military standard, had no longer any excuse for holding Japan in duress by the maintenance of unequal treaties.

Yet the one untoward result of Japanese success was the coalition of the European Powers, Germany, Russia, and France, for the purpose of robbing Japan of some portion of the fruits of her victory by "advising" the retrocession of the Liaotung peninsula. In other respects Japan fared well during the ensuing decade. Under premiers such as Matsugata, Ito, Yamagata, and Katsura, domestic affairs prospered. In the suppression of the Boxer revolt in 1900 Japanese troops won the world's admiration not less by their morale than by their valor. In the treaty of alliance with Great Britain (February 11, 1902), the first of the kind between an Oriental and an Occidental Power, Japan attained an altogether new pinnacle of national achievement.[2] It provided that the armed support

[1] See Gubbins, *Making of Modern Japan*, p. 210.

[2] See, for the circumstances of the making of the alliance, *The Secret Memoirs of Count Hayashi.*

of either ally should be given to the other, if that other were attacked by two Powers. There is little doubt that the alliance proved of the highest advantage to Japan in the great conflict which was then brewing with Russia.

We have traced in part the events which made this fateful struggle inevitable. Japan, fighting not her own battle merely but for the policies avowed by Great Britain and the United States as well, was the only Power prepared to carry the controversy to the bitter end. She showed herself patient and conciliatory, going so far at one time as to concede Manchuria outside her own province, provided Russia made a similar concession with regard to Korea. But Russia was at once crafty, obdurate, and dilatory. While Lamsdorff, the Russian Foreign Minister, temporized, troops were being dispatched to the East and Alexieff was made Viceroy. After six months' weary parleying, Japan severed relations, recalled Minister Kurino, and decided upon independent action.

The course of the war has been sufficiently described in a preceding chapter, hence it only remains to speak of the reception which the Treaty of Portsmouth — by which the war was concluded — had on the return of the plenipotentiaries to Japan. The main difficulty had been with regard to two points, the retention of the whole of Sakhalin and the payment of an indemnity. The compromise arrived at was probably forced by President Roosevelt's knowledge of the absolute necessity of peace in the interest of the victors themselves. Some chose to read into it the desire of American financiers — represented by Mr. E. H. Harriman, then in Tokyo — to obtain control of the Manchurian railways. It was supposed that Japan, without an indemnity, would not be able to finance them. The popular dissatisfaction is easy to understand on other grounds, when we consider the tremendous sacrifices and the well-nigh supernatural restraint of the war time. The riots which occurred in Tokyo were really of small account when compared with the revolutionary conditions prevailing at the time in Russia. The people soon learned to take calmer and

more sensible views. Great things had been accomplished. The Orient was freed for the time being from the shadow of a giant menace. Space was provided for the expansion of Japanese commerce. Japanese prowess became a thing to conjure with throughout all Asia. The renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, August 12, 1905, while the war was still unfinished, set a seal upon the greatness of Nippon. Japan was now not merely an Asiatic but a World Power, whose interests in the Orient could hardly be considered otherwise than as dominant.

Something more needs to be said here to explain the annexation of Korea, which took place just five years after the Treaty of Portsmouth. The first years of the protectorate were full of difficulty, though the Resident, Prince Ito, did his utmost in the way of conciliation. All Korea's diplomatic business had to be transacted through Japanese channels, to counteract various futile attempts at intrigue with foreign Powers. The United States was particularly appealed to, and many were disposed to read America's offer of good offices — made in her first treaty with Korea — as though it were equivalent to a guaranty of independence. Meanwhile, an enormous amount of reform was accomplished in the direction of establishing banks, post offices, telegraph lines, schools, and so on. In some instances these reforms were carried out untactfully and without sympathy, but the sullen resistance of the Koreans made the situation extraordinarily difficult. One insurrection cost the lives of some 21,000 persons. In 1909 Ito retired, discouraged, from his thankless task. Four months later he was murdered at Harbin. His last reported word, "Fool!" addressed to the murderer, well characterized the act.

General Terauchi, who after a few months' interval became Resident General, introduced a thoroughly military régime, and on August 29, 1910, Korea became by annexation an integral part of the Japanese Empire under the old name of Chosen, "land of the morning freshness." During the years which have since elapsed it can scarcely be said that the Koreans have learned to accept their fate cheerfully, but it is true that,

at least in a material way, they have benefited from Japanese rule. One may grow sentimental over the disappearance of a kingdom which is supposed to date from 2333 B.C., or by a more modest calculation from 1122 B.C., but after all the buffetings to and fro in the whirlpool of *Weltpolitik* it would appear that a happy solution has been reached, which ought to conduce to the peace of the Orient and of the world at large.

It should not be overlooked that these last years reveal a widening gulf of misunderstanding between Japan and her earliest friend among the nations, the United States. The reasons for this are not altogether to be explained, but one or two are on the surface. Disappointment over the provisions of the Treaty of Portsmouth is to a certain extent responsible. More particularly, the negotiations leading to the Ito-Harriman Memorandum made it plain that an era of commercial rivalry between the United States and Japan had definitely begun, and that the conditions of this rivalry had not as yet been thoroughly adjusted or even understood. In the sequel to her two wars Japan had suffered so much from diplomatic inferiority that it is not strange to find her venturing upon a stage of diplomacy rather aggressively Japanese. It was not deliberately anti-American, but there is no doubt that it militated for a time against American influence in the Orient. Regard must also be paid at this time to the anti-foreign feeling engendered by the California school-question. Thus, although the signing of what is known as the Root-Takahira Agreement of November 30, 1908 seemed, without rebuff to China, to secure Japanese dominance in the East, the strongest opposition was offered to any and every American proposition for the neutralization of the Manchurian railways. When the final proposal of this kind was made by Secretary Knox in January 1910, Russia and Japan "seemed to spring together" in the adoption of a common and contrary policy. On January 20, 1910, Japan informed China that she and Russia jointly declined the American proposal. Formal rejection followed, and

on July 4, 1910, Japan and Russia signed an agreement excluding all foreign interference. It was a rebuff the nature of which could hardly be concealed under the conventions of diplomatic language. The rest of the story we must leave to a subsequent chapter.

CHAPTER XVI

INDIA TO THE GREAT WAR

In an earlier chapter we saw the gradual weakening of the rule which had been established by the Great Moghuls. The dour puritanism of Aurungzeb brought about the great Mahratta revolt under Sivaji. A little later it is plain that the whole empire was fast sinking into anarchy. Out of this anarchy appeared the competition of French and English, not at first for conquest but for trading privileges. Out of the determination of Clive to avail himself of these privileges and to defeat the schemes of Dupleix came the extension of the power of the London East India Company, till three or four factories, rented from the Moghuls in widely separated presidencies, became the nuclei of an ever-expanding dominion.

This new situation, revealed at last to the British Parliament and the British people, was certain to have its moral reaction. Even the unscrupulous attacks made first upon Clive and later upon Warren Hastings were in part due to a feeling that responsibility and trusteeship had been accepted, which the Company could not evade because of any relation to its Moghul patrons. This sense of responsibility, though frequently forgotten, yielded fruit in Lord North's Regulating Act of 1773 and Pitt's Government of India Act of 1784. By these the appointment of the Governor-General was restricted to the Crown, and very drastic penalties were provided for any officials found guilty of corruption or oppression.

So the long period of disruption and anarchy which had vexed India since the death of Aurungzeb was brought to an end.

The *Pax Indica* which ensued may be said to have begun when Lord Lake was welcomed in 1803 by the blind and aged descendant of the Great Moghuls, Shah Alam II, just delivered from his Mahratta prison. The days of anarchy and of Muhammadan tyranny were alike over. A new era had begun.

The next years, naturally, were not without their conflicts, both within and without the Company's territory. But the main story is of progress toward peace and toward greater administrative efficiency. It was well that the renewal of the Company's charter every twenty years gave periodical opportunity for the introduction of reforms. Thus, in 1813, the trading monopoly of the Company was terminated. In 1833 the result of much splendid missionary work appeared in greater concern for the inclusion of indigenous capacity in the administration. When the charter was renewed, Parliament declared: "No native of the said Indian territories, nor any natural British-born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, color, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the Company." At the same time much attention was being given to education — attention greatly stimulated by the work of the missionary Alexander Duff,[1] and guided by the famous minute of March 7, 1835, written by Thomas Babington Macaulay. In the light of to-day's experience it is clear that Macaulay overvalued the importance of Western studies for the Indian as much as he undervalued studies in the languages and literatures of India; but at least he was earnestly devoted to the education of India.

The viceroyalty of Lord William Bentinck, from 1829 to 1835, has little in it of conquest, but a great deal that made for the happiness of the people of India, from efforts for restoring equilibrium to the finances to the abolishing of sati.[2] The

[1] Missionary and educationalist, 1806–78. Began work in India in 1830.

[2] Sati, sometimes spelled *suttee*, is a Sanskrit word signifying "a faithful woman." It refers to the custom of widows burning themselves on the funeral pyres of their husbands. The practice was made illegal in 1829.

inscription on this Viceroy's monument at Calcutta tells only the simple truth: "He abolished cruel rites; he effaced humiliating distinctions; he gave liberty to the expression of public opinion; his constant study it was to elevate the intellectual and moral character of the natives committed to his charge."

To all this the response of India was far from negative, and religious reform seemed promised from within as well as from without. A good illustration is in the life and work of Ram Mohun Roy,[1] founder of the theistic society known as the Brahmo Samaj.[2] By many this distinguished Bengali is regarded as "the father of modern India, its ideals and aspirations," the kindler of a flame destined never to expire. He was certainly the pioneer of much in the way of religious and social reform. Born in Lower Bengal in 1774, Ram Mohun Roy grew up a foe to the prevalent idolatry and keenly desirous of taking India back along the old paths to a purer faith. He became persuaded that the English rule, "though a foreign yoke, would lead more speedily and surely to the amelioration of the native inhabitants," so with great courage he joined in the campaign against sati, advocated (with Macaulay) the introduction of Western education, and wrote powerfully against idolatry. Among the first Indians of rank to break through the prejudices of caste by crossing "the black water," Ram Mohun Roy visited England in 1830, and there died three years later. The founding of the Brahmo Samaj was a sincere attempt to rid Indian religion of cruelty and superstition. It did not gain the widespread success anticipated — partly because of the rise of similar societies,[3] partly because of the general diffusion of some of its teachings throughout orthodox Hinduism. But in personages such as Ram Mohun Roy, Keshub Chunder Sen,[4]

[1] See *Life and Letters of Raja Ram Mohun Roy;* also Macnicol, *Making of Modern India,* ch. XIII.

[2] That is, "The Society of Brahman," a theistic society founded in 1828.

[3] The original Samaj has split many times, and under the name of the Adi Samaj has now but a small following.

[4] Keshub Chunder Sen joined the Samaj in 1859, and became one of its most eloquent exponents to the Western world.

and Debendranath Tagore [1] (father of the poet), the Brahmo Samaj went a long way toward making Indian idealism articulate.

Returning to our historical survey, we find the successors of Lord William Bentinck by no means so fortunate as he in keeping the frontier free from war. There was a campaign in Afghanistan in 1837, not unconnected with the rapid advance of Russia in Central Asia. In 1843 came the annexation of Sind by Sir Charles Napier, an annexation announced in one of the most laconic dispatches of history, "*Peccavi*" ("I have Sind"). Then came the conquest of the Sikhs in 1845 and the surrender of Lahore. Again, no sooner had Lord Dalhousie arrived as Governor-General in 1848 than he found himself faced with the necessity of war in the Panjab. Four years later he had to wage war in Burmah, and in 1856 he carried out the annexation of Oudh, after a vain attempt to persuade the native ruler to put his own house in order.

All these campaigns may easily blind us to the importance of the great amount of administrative reform accomplished in India proper during the same period. The great educational measure of 1854 provided, among other things, for a Department of Education and for a university in each of the three presidencies. There seemed ahead a long path of peaceful progress. Then came, almost like a bolt from the blue, the Mutiny. At a farewell banquet in England, on the eve of proceeding to take up the viceroyalty, Lord Canning [2] uttered the prophetic words: "I wish for a peaceful term of office. But I cannot forget that in the sky of India, serene as it is, a small cloud may arise, no larger than a man's hand, but which, growing larger and larger, may at last threaten to burst and overwhelm us with ruin."

The Indian Mutiny of 1857 had more than one cause. It was Muhammadan in the sense that it looked for some revival

[1] Son of Prince Dwarka Nath, and one of the great mystics of modern India. He joined the Samaj in 1841 and was recognized as its Mahārshi or chief.

[2] Charles George, Earl of Canning, 1812–62.

of the Moghul power. It was Hindu in that the caste prejudices of the sepoys were said to have been flouted by requiring them to use cartridges greased with the fat of cows and pigs. For this rumor there seems to have been some ground. In a larger way it was due to the gradual rise of a great tide of resentment against all that the West had brought to India. The fact that just a century had elapsed since the battle of Plassey riveted the dominion of the West on India made the resentment the more timely. The Mutiny really represented — as does much of the unrest to-day — the clash of opposed civilizations, brought into contact without assimilation.

It is not necessary to tell the full story of this historic revolt,[1] but a few of its outstanding incidents may be recalled. For those who understood, the first sign was trouble at Barrackpore in January 1857. After a few isolated acts of insubordination came an outbreak at Meerut in May. This was followed by the march of the mutineers to Delhi, which from that time became the headquarters of the revolt. With all the Northwest Provinces seemingly in a flame of rebellion, two men kept their heads, Canning at Calcutta and Lawrence[2] in the Panjab. The latter used his Sikh troops, and the loyalty of the men, who so little time before had been themselves subdued by British arms, stood the strain. Canning was getting up troops from various directions, fortunately being able to intercept the expedition then on its way to commence operations in China. Soon came the siege of Delhi, whose capture after three months proved the turning-point of the mutiny. The massacre at Cawnpore, due to the treachery of Nana Sahib,[3] "the arch-villain of the Mutiny," brought upon the rebels a terrible vengeance, inflicted by Sir Henry Havelock.[4] The story of the defense and the relief of Lucknow, told so often in prose and verse, brings us to the last important incident of

[1] For a full account, see Malleson's *Indian Mutiny*.

[2] See Edwardes and Merivale, *Life of Sir Henry Lawrence*.

[3] The common designation of Dandu Panth, adopted son of the ex-Peshwa of the Mahrattas.

[4] See Marshman's *Memoirs of Sir Henry Havelock*.

a critical time. By the early summer of 1858 the movement had been completely crushed all over India.

It is of course true that the Indian Mutiny was by no means a national movement. On the contrary, it brought out in strong relief the steadfast loyalty of many among the princes and peoples of India. Yet, though it failed from a military and political point of view, it undoubtedly left behind it bitter and mischievous memories. It was not easy for Indians to forget the men blown from the mouths of British guns. Nor could white men and women forget the innocent sufferers whose martyrdom is commemorated at Cawnpore.

All this, however, was as yet beneath the surface. There followed, as Chirol calls it, "a long period of paternal but autocratic government." [1] During those years railways increased from a mileage of 200 to 28,000; telegraph lines from 45,000 to 60,000; and though famine and plague came with terrible severity, the population continued to grow by leaps and bounds, till India contained one fifth of the world's inhabitants.

By virtue of the Act for the Better Government of India, passed immediately after the suppression of the Mutiny, India came under the Crown. The administration of the Company was over, and the Governor-General was for the first time known officially by the title of Viceroy. During the next years many signs were forthcoming that India was a dependency of the British Crown. One was the visit of the Prince of Wales (afterward King Edward VII) in the winter of 1875–76. A still more spectacular indication of the fact was the proclamation of Queen Victoria as Empress of India in 1877.[2] The great Durbar on the Ridge overlooking Delhi must have carried back the imagination of men to the days of Akbar. Yet beneath all the outward manifestations of Lord Lytton's brilliant Oriental policy there were felt the gathered mutterings of popular discontent.

This discontent had many causes. There was the terrible famine of 1877–78, which entailed suffering such as had never

[1] See Chirol, *The Occident and the Orient*, ch. IV.

[2] An Oriental stroke due to the brain of Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield.

before in historical times visited Hindustan. There was the Afghan War, which, inevitable as it was, both in India and in England was viewed with much misgiving. Above all was the rankling sense on the part of Indians, particularly those who had received Western training and education, that the promises of earlier days had not been fulfilled. There were many Indians who, having learned all their rights and more than all their wrongs, felt that high administrative office was not open to them, however well they were qualified by intelligence and training. In the army, too, there were many capable of leadership, but they must always rank beneath the rawest of English subalterns. Even when Lord Ripon arrived to reverse the policy of Lytton and to introduce liberal reforms, the result was too frequently the increase of ill-feeling between Indian and European. An example of this is the famous Ilbert Bill, which, intended to give justice to Indian officials, was regarded by many as a plan for putting Indian magistrates in authority over white subordinates, so the Bill was whittled down, by way of concession to agitation, till nothing much remained except a sense of resentment. The discontent of the intelligentsia expressed itself at length in the formation of the Indian National Congress, which held its first session at Bombay on December 28, 1885. There was at first no intention to propagate disloyalty. It was desired simply to agitate by constitutional methods for a larger share in the administration of the Indian Empire. Nor was this constitutional agitation ineffective. Though, to save face, the Government was but little inclined to acknowledge its debt to the Congress, the passing of the Indian Local Government Act of 1888 and, under Lord Lansdowne, of the Indian Councils Act of 1892 was to a considerable degree the result of Congressional activity. Yet the spokesmen for a new India wanted not so much more councils as some measure of representative government. Of this there was as yet no sign on the political horizon. So the agitation continued to ferment. Unfortunately, interest in social and religious reform seemed in a corresponding degree to be dying out.

Such was the situation when the ablest Indian administrator of modern times, Lord Curzon,[1] took the helm, and in an unlucky moment proposed the partition of Bengal. This measure served more than anything else to reveal the gulf which had opened between the governors and the governed. For the great wave of unrest which marked the assumption of the viceroyalty by Curzon in 1898 there was an accumulation of causes. Certainly it was not through any lack of earnestness and ability on the part of the Governor-General. Curzon's administration, on the contrary, was marked by many important and significant reforms. For example, there was notable advance in matters of education and of police. Extensive works of irrigation were carried out, providing for large additional population. There was also the formation of the Imperial Cadet Corps in connection with the feudatory states. Of a more public character was the great Coronation Durbar at Delhi in 1903. And a military measure of far-reaching importance was the expedition of General Younghusband to Lhasa in 1904. All these things, however, were forgotten in the indignation aroused by the partition of a province which, with a population of 70,000,000, was confessedly in need of subdivision. All the world over, nationalism in some form or other was in the air. Boers were fighting against British. Abyssinians were celebrating their victory over the Italians. Above all, the triumph of Japan over Russia was raising the question as to whether the white man might not, after all, be ejected from Asia altogether. The very language which the British Raj had given to India as a common tongue served to spread and make more effective the agitation for ending a foreign rule. Thus, in spite of all the splendid services Lord Curzon rendered to India and the Empire, his fall—consequent upon a disagreement with Lord Kitchener, the commander-in-chief — was hailed with delight. Taken with the defeat of the Unionist party at the general election of 1905, the retirement of Curzon seemed to promise well for reform in India.

[1] Afterward British Foreign Minister. Died in 1925.

That no radical change came — at any rate, immediately — from the new Viceroy, Lord Minto, or from the new Secretary of State for India, Mr. John Morley,[1] was the cause of keen disappointment. Agitation was renewed — agitation of a more extreme type. The Moderates in the Indian National Congress found themselves derided for their patience and more and more under pressure to advocate disloyalty. The cry of "Swaraj" (self-government), began to be heard on all sides. The press and the schools seethed with expressions of discontent. Moreover, as Chirol writes: "The cult of the bomb was easily grafted on to the cult of Shiva, the destroyer; and murders, of which the victims were almost as often Indians in Governmental service as British-born officials, were invested with a halo of religious and patriotic heroism."[2]

This agitation, which in 1907 had produced a very critical situation, was severest in Bengal and Eastern Bengal. It took not only the form of violence and dacoity, but also the more subtle form of the Swadeshi movement for the boycotting of British-made goods. Moreover, the conspiracy against the British Raj ramified through many lands, as was shown by the assassination of Sir William Curzon-Wylie by an Indian student in London. The Government was confronted with a double task of delicacy and difficulty. In one direction it had to suppress with a heavy hand the outbreak of lawlessness; in the other, it had to hasten forward the contemplated measures of reform. In the former direction we have the passing of such measures as the Explosives Act, the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act, and the Criminal Law Amendment Act. In the other direction, the occurrence in 1908 of the fiftieth anniversary of Queen Victoria's proclamation after the Mutiny — to the effect that the government was assumed by the Crown — furnished a fine opportunity for the announcement that the principle of representative government was something which England had always intended to introduce, however gradually.

[1] Afterward Lord Morley of Blackburn.
[2] Chirol, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

"The time has come when, in the judgment of my Viceroy and Governor-General and others of my counselors, that principle may be prudently extended."

This promise was fulfilled by the passing through Parliament in 1909 of the Indian Councils Act. Naturally enough, the measure disappointed the expectations of many. It did, however, add elected members to the legislative councils, and conceded to the councils much greater powers of discussion. The system of election was necessarily complex, because of the composition of an Indian electorate, but it did reach the desires of the various Muhammadan and Hindu communities. The elected councils, however, suffered from the fact that they were as yet little more than "debating bodies, with the power of criticizing the executive."

Efforts were made by the extremists to secure the rejection of the reform; but largely through the influence of notable Moderates such as Mr. Gokhale, and also because the most notorious extremist, Mr. Tilak, was at the time undergoing a term of imprisonment, the unrest was to a considerable extent allayed. Lord Minto's viceroyalty was beginning most satisfactorily, especially as arrangements were made with the feudatory princes which considerably increased their administrative liberty, and, in consequence, their self-respect. "The foundation stone," said the Viceroy, "of the whole system is the recognition of identity of interests between the Imperial Government and the Durbars, and the minimum of interference with the latter in their own affairs."

On Lord Minto's retirement in 1910 there was some alarm in India lest, as rumor had it, Lord Kitchener — whom Indians did not dislike as a man but feared as a soldier — should succeed. The new Viceroy, however, was Lord Hardinge, whose six years of office were eventful and critical. The first event of his term was the visit of the King and Queen, who were welcomed with real enthusiasm. The occasion was marked by several dramatic announcements, including that of the transfer of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi — or rather, to

a new city to be built on a site near Delhi. Another announcement proclaimed the reunion of Bengal and Eastern Bengal, in deference to the "widespread and unyielding" opposition to the partition. A new Lieutenant-Governorship in Council was created by the separation of Behar, Orissa, and Chota-Nagpur from the old Bengal. The choice of Delhi as capital was an appeal to Indian imagination, for here in the earliest ages had been fought out the struggle between Pandavas and Kauravas, as told in the epic of the *Mahabharata*. Here the first of the Great Moghuls had won their right to be overlords of India. Here too Lord Lake, in 1803, had rescued the miserable Shah Alam from his Mahratta jailers. Here in 1857 the last of the Moghuls "disappeared out of history in the tempest of the Mutiny." Here the British sovereigns had been proclaimed, from the day when Queen Victoria was made Empress of India. The new Delhi — retarded by the war — has not yet risen to fulfill the dreams of its prophets, but there is little doubt that the change has justified itself as much for practical as for historical and sentimental reasons.

Lord Hardinge's viceroyalty was occupied with much beside events such as the Durbar. Education was developed broadly and generously. Universities were created for Dacca, Patna, Rangoon, and Lucknow. Schools for medical research and for the study of tropical medicine were established; institutes of science were inaugurated. As in the case of so much beside, many great plans were thwarted and delayed by the outbreak of the Great War.

Yet even before the war the Hardinge administration had its difficulties. Of these some were of the old type; others were more or less new. One of the latter came from outside, namely, from South Africa. Here the position of Indian indentured labor was such, and the treatment of the laborers was so obviously unfair, that when the news reached India there was the intensest indignation. It was felt, in connection with Lord Curzon's boast that the Indian, "though he hails from a dependency, has not only in India, but in the United Kingdom, the

full rights of a British subject," that serious injustice had been done. As the absence of all redress was followed up by strikes and passive resistance on the part of the laborers, Lord Hardinge, deliberately indiscreet, expressed very particular sympathy with the Indians. A commission was appointed and found at last a remedy for the situation in the Indian Relief Act of 1914. An interesting feature of this long and unhappy controversy is the first appearance on the international stage of Mr. Gandhi, as the lawyer sent from India to plead the cause of the Cape Indians.

In the midst of this and other evidences of discontent — some from the Indian point of view justifiable, others inspired by a widely organized terroristic conspiracy — came an all but successful attack upon the life of the Viceroy as he was making a state entry into Delhi on December 23, 1912. A bomb thrown from a balcony in one of the principal thoroughfares of the city wounded the Viceroy, killed an attendant, and inflicted upon Lady Hardinge the shock which doubtless hastened her death a little over two years later. The outrage had the doubly unfortunate result of inspiring fresh repressive measures and of postponing reforms for which all classes in India were becoming impatient.

The recrudescence of discontent had several new features. In the first place, it brought to the front, associated with extremists of the Hindu faith, the disgruntled among the Muhammadans. Since the foundation of the Indian National Congress in 1885, there had been little disposition on the part of Muhammadans to join in the agitation against the Government. This was partly because of the age-long antagonism which existed between Islam and the idolatrous Hindu. Indeed, the All-India Moslem League, founded in 1905, had been largely formed for the purpose of counteracting the aims of the Congress. But a new generation of Muhammadans had arisen. These disliked the revised scheme for administering Bengal, and, dreaming of Pan-Islamism, they resented the British occupation of Egypt as much as they approved the new vitality of Islam in

Europe, Asia, and Africa. Gradually there had come about an understanding between the Moslem League and the National Congress, which, though not complete before the Great War, threatened an enormous increase of power to the revolutionary cause.

Still greater power was to come through the rise of an enigmatical figure destined to sway the multitudes of India with an eloquence only less than the impressiveness of his personality. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, undoubtedly one of the most remarkable men India has produced, was born in Gujerat in 1869. Though not a Brahman, he was ever an orthodox Hindu of the strictest sort, in spite of his English studies at the University of London and the Inner Temple. He came into notice first when in 1893 he was called to South Africa as a lawyer, to defend a compatriot. At that time no suspicion of disloyalty attached to his name. In fact, during the South African War he made the offer—which was accepted—of an Indian Ambulance Corps, with which he served in the most admirable manner. In the trouble which followed that war Gandhi returned to South Africa, and from 1906 onward he found himself more and more forced into opposition to a system which seemed to him materialistic and dishonest. In this opposition he went further and further, organizing the strike and the "grand march of protest," and suffering imprisonment accordingly. Even yet there was no disposition to make the path of the Government in India more difficult. When Gandhi arrived in India soon after the commencement of the Great War, "the Government of India marked its appreciation of the great service which he had rendered to his countrymen in South Africa by recommending him for the Kaisar-i-Hind gold medal, which was conferred upon him among the New Year honors of 1915." [1]

When the Great War broke out with appalling suddenness in August 1914, it was plain that the hope of Germany included nation-wide revolt in India, as well as in other parts of the

[1] Chirol, *op. cit.*

GANDHI, APOSTLE OF NON-COÖPERATION

Photograph by the Keystone View Company of New York

British Empire. There were many signs that such a revolt had been carefully fomented and prepared for by agents in both the Old and the New World. Yet nowhere more signally than in India were such hopes falsified. The immediate rally of princes and people — including many who had hitherto ranked themselves as extremists — to the cause of the Empire was wonderful testimony to the deep loyalty which, in spite of all disappointments, survived in the heart of India. "Now that England," said the *Advocate* of Lucknow, "is at war with a foreign enemy, she may absolutely depend upon the loyalty of the people of this country. They may have their grievances, they may have their differences with the Government, but they are firmly attached to British rule; they are fully prepared at this crisis to place their resources at the disposal of the authorities in defense of their country." [1] So it came to pass that India was almost denuded of the British troops, the flower of the army. These were sent to the West, while the native troops, by tens of thousands, were sent, first to take their place by the side of their white brothers in the Western trenches, and later to carry through to a successful termination the arduous campaign in the valley of the Euphrates.

Lord Hardinge, in retiring from the viceroyalty in April 1916, was able to say that "the internal situation of India could hardly be more favorable." He could express also, with evident sincerity, his desire for "the early realization of the just and legitimate aspirations of India." How far this desire was to be fulfilled and what disappointments were still to come to both rulers and ruled, we shall be able to consider in another chapter.

[1] See *India and the War*, p. 58.

CHAPTER XVII

POLITICAL STIRRINGS IN EASTERN ASIA IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Having brought the story of India down to the outbreak of the Great War, it must now be our task to do the same for the rest of Asia. In attempting this we can but be aware of the existence of a general trend from one end of the continent to the other.

The one necessary qualification to this statement is in connection with Japan. There political movements were certainly all in the direction of more liberal forms of government, but there was in them little or nothing of the revolutionary. The most regrettable feature of Japanese history at this time is to be found in the widening gulf of misunderstanding between Japan and the United States. As we have seen, this was in part due to disappointments involved in the Treaty of Portsmouth and in the subsequent American efforts to secure the neutralization of the Manchurian railways, construed as attempts on the part of foreign finance to rob the victors of their hard-won gains. In a larger degree it was due to unfortunate controversies which arose about this time on the matter of Japanese immigration.

Though the immigration of laborers from Japan to the United States was not legalized till 1885, a few drifted in by various channels as early as 1841. Between 1861 and 1870, 218 Japanese came, and in the decade 1901–10 the number rose to 54,834. These figures do not include the Hawaiian Islands. In 1910 the Japanese residing in the country had

become 72,000, of whom 57,000 were on the Pacific Coast. The first expression of the cry, "The Japs must go!" was in 1887, when there were only 400 in all California. Yoshio Markino,[1] the artist, describes his first impression on landing in San Francisco, July 1893: "I went to Golden Gate Park with another Japanese. Whenever we passed before the crowds, they shouted 'Jap' and 'Sukebei' (the latter word is too rude to translate). Then some of them even spat on us. When we came out to the corner of Geary Street, pebbles were showered upon us." The appearance of bubonic plague in San Francisco in 1899 led to a strengthening of the agitation, though there was no reason for connecting the coming of the plague with the Japanese. In 1901 the exclusion of the Japanese was demanded with yet greater vehemence, and the Asiatic Exclusion League, formed in 1905, exercised pressure upon public bodies, hence, in May 1905, the passing by the Board of Education of the order for separate schools — a policy delayed by the great fire till the next year. It is interesting to note that at the time the separate schools were created there were only 93 pupils, 60 of them under 16 years of age, scattered in 23 different buildings. Further immigration of Japanese was disallowed by Congress in 1907, and President Roosevelt, by proclamation, forbade them coming from Hawaii, Mexico, and Canada. While resenting the slur cast upon her subjects, Japan, by a so-called "gentleman's agreement," consented to prevent the further entrance of Japanese laborers into the United States. It is generally accepted as a fact that the agreement was scrupulously observed. Yet the anti-Japanese campaign continued, and in California successive sessions of the Legislature were flooded with exclusion bills. These culminated in the Alien Landowners Bill, which, after some rebuffs, was passed and signed by the Governor May 19, 1913.

It should here be said that few, either at that time or since, have desired a policy of unrestricted immigration. The real crux was to find a method of restriction which should abolish

[1] See Yoshio Markino, *Recollections and Reflections of a Japanese Artist.*

unjust discrimination between peoples and races.[1] Beyond the question of the admission of Japanese lay the further one as to the propriety of granting citizenship to those already lawfully resident. After an exhaustive investigation of the whole problem, Professor Millis says: "My own opinion is that the naturalization law should be changed so as to make the aliens of all races eligible to citizenship. Such a law would be based upon good principle, and would do much to foster good feeling on the part of Asiatics toward the United States — an end to be desired."[2]

In Japan the most important event of 1912 was the death of the Emperor on July 30. During the last brief illness there were many tokens of the love and loyalty of the people. None is more touching than the story of the little girl who cut off her hair to present at a shrine with her prayers for the Emperor's recovery. Mutsuhito, henceforth to be known as Meiji Tennō, was a liberal sovereign in the best sense of the word, and the passionate loyalty to the Throne exhibited during the forty-four years of startling change since the Restoration was due as much to his personal character as to the popular belief in his divine ancestry. He lived a life of Spartan simplicity, was devoted to the arts, an accomplished poet,[3] and distinguished for his charity and humanity on all occasions of public calamity. In close connection with the funeral rites, performed on September 13, we have the startling episode of the suicide of General Nogi, the hero of Port Arthur, and his wife, in accordance with the old custom of *junshi*, or "following in death." The grim soldier, who had borne with the courage of the samurai the death of his two sons before Port Arthur, was missed from the funeral cortège of the monarch he had served so well. There were those who asserted that in the form of a pale-blue flame the warrior's soul was seen hovering above the Imperial hearse. The house of the dead general is still a shrine

[1] See Gulick, *The American Japanese Problem.*
[2] See Millis, *The Japanese in the United States.*
[3] The Emperor's published poems are in three volumes.

to which many pilgrims come. They pause reverently before "the bloodstain of the last moment," so paying their respects to the finest flower of Japanese military tradition, a knight *sans peur et sans reproche*.

The new Emperor was Yoshihito, to whom two of the three sacred treasures of Japan, the sword and the seal, were committed immediately after his father's death. The third, the sacred mirror, remained, as was customary, in the great shrine at Ise. The new era was inaugurated as Taisho, "Great Righteousness," a title of happy omen. But the Emperor's health eventually proved inadequate for the responsibilities of government, and after some years the Crown Prince Hirohito (born April 29, 1901) was declared Regent. The venerable Queen-Mother — Mutsuhito's consort, but not the present Emperor's mother — passed away in the spring of 1914. Once again the quaint procession of ox-wagons, with their creaking wheels, expressed "the woe of the inarticulate," as the dead lady was carried to her last repose in Kyoto.

In August 1914 came the Great War, and Japan was called upon to make her decision. It was soon evident that, both in the spirit and in the letter, Japan was ready to observe the obligation imposed upon her through the alliance with Great Britain. Of the general aid given by Japan to her allies we shall speak later, but a few words may here be devoted to tell of the taking of the territory in Shantung which had been leased from China by Germany. Japan's ultimatum to Germany on August 15 was ironically modeled upon the demands which nearly twenty years previously Germany had made upon Japan for the retrocession of Port Arthur. It is said that negotiations were already proceeding between Germany and China for the abandonment of Kiaochow. If this be true, Japan seized the initiative and followed up the demand after a week with a vigorous siege. In coöperation with a small British force, the Japanese brought about the fall of Tsingtao on November 7. This success was for Japan the beginning of many troubles which must be described in their proper sequence.

Within two months of the taking of Tsingtao, Japan startled the world by an application to China of the doctrine of maximum pressure. On January 15, 1915, Dr. Hioki, Japanese Minister to Peking, served personally on President Yuan what are known as the Twenty-one Demands.[1] These, arranged in five groups, may be roughly summarized as follows:

The first group dealt with the acquired territory in Shantung, securing for Japan the privileges included in Germany's lease, and asking China's promise that no future lease of territory in the Province to any third Power be considered.

The second group asked acknowledgment of Japan's special position in Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia, extension of the Port Arthur lease to ninety-nine years, and certain rights of residence, mining, and railway-building by Japanese subjects in those territories.

The third group demanded that the Hanyehping Mining Company[2] should become a joint Japanese-Chinese concern, thus carrying Japanese influence up the Yang-tze Valley.

The fourth group asked the Chinese Government to agree "that no island, port, or harbor along the coast be ceded or leased to a third Power." This was generally interpreted as aimed at the rumored intention of the United States to secure a naval base on the Fukien coast.

The fifth group, over which the bitterest controversy naturally arose, asked for the employment by the Chinese Government of Japanese advisers in political, financial, and military affairs; the right to own land in the interior for the building of Japanese hospitals, schools, and churches; the policing of certain places in China jointly by Chinese and Japanese; the purchase by China from Japan of a fixed ratio of munitions of war, together with the employment of Japanese technical experts; the right to build railways from Kiukiang to Nan-

[1] For the text of the Twenty-one Demands, see Chung, *The Oriental Policy of the United States*, pp. 278 *ff.*

[2] The Hanyehping mines in the province of Hupeh export annually over 400,000 tons of ore to Japan.

chang, from Wuchang to Hangchow, and from Nanchang to Chiaochow; the right to work mines, build railways, and construct harbor works in the province of Fukien (Japanese capital having the prior claim in such work); and the right on the part of Japanese subjects to propagate Buddhism in China.

By way of comment we must here restrict ourselves to the barest statement of facts. It must be confessed that when the news was printed in March 1915 a rather painful impression was created in the United States. Yet Prime Minister Okuma was reassuringly optimistic. He explained that "the negotiations between Japan and China were nearing a satisfactory conclusion." He said further that "the uneasiness and suspicion in the United States in connection with Japan's negotiations at Peking are based on misunderstanding and misinformation, scattered broadcast by interested mischief-makers." Yet the fifth group of demands was presently withdrawn, — at least for the time, — it being announced that these last demands were not intended to be enforced at present but put forth as principles which it was considered well for China to endorse. In a revised form the demands were presented again on April 26, and, upon China replying with further protest, an ultimatum was dispatched on May 7 by Japan, which was accepted on the following day. China could only show her continued dissatisfaction by a boycott of Japanese goods and by the raising of a fund known as the National Salvation Fund. The world was fain to be content with the solution thus obtained, at least temporarily, and Japan was left secure in her claim to be the dominating power in the Orient.

This position seems conceded by the United States in the significant agreement signed in November 1917 at Washington by Secretary Lansing and Mr. (now Viscount) Ishii, in which the "Government of the United States recognizes that Japan has special interests in China, particularly in the part to which her possessions are contiguous." The clause, considered by Mr. Lansing a truism, was by Japan construed as assigning her

the major rôle in the Far East. By others it was regarded as the negation of the American policy of the Open Door.[1]

It is necessary at this point to turn from Japan to China, and back to the changes involved by the downfall of the Manchus.

To the outside world the Revolution of 1911 came like an unexpected thunderclap. In truth the explosion had been long preparing. For many years there had been growing disgust with the Manchu dynasty. The plight to which the country was reduced by foreign aggression was attributed wholly to the imperial incompetency. The influence of the anti-Manchu secret societies, with which the country was honeycombed, was deep as well as widespread. Foreign ideas, moreover, both missionary and mercantile, had leavened the land with the aspirations of democracy in its more modern manifestations, and the American-educated students had contributed largely both to dissatisfaction with the past and to the desire for things new or untried. There is also to be considered the influence of one of the most remarkable of modern Chinese, Dr. Sun Yat-sen,[2] whose life for some years had been devoted to the financing and organizing of the Revolution. He was a Southerner, born near Canton, but educated in Honolulu and Hongkong, the first graduate of the Hongkong School of Medicine. For complicity in the Canton plot of 1895 his life was sought by the Government, and he fled to America and Europe, everywhere gaining fresh support for his cause. In London he had a very narrow escape, being kidnapped and confined by the Chinese Embassy. He gained his liberty by the interposition of the British Foreign Office, after his whereabouts had been revealed through a note flung from his prison window. With Huang Hsing, a fellow countryman educated in Japan, he then organized the Tung Meng Hui,[3] and went on conspiring.

[1] For text of Lansing-Ishii Agreement, see Putnam Weale, *The Truth about China and Japan*, p. 157.

[2] See Cantlie's *Sun Yat-sen and the Awakening of China.*

[3] That is, the "Together Union Society."

The success of this conspiracy was indirectly aided by the fatuous policy of the Throne after the death of Kuang Hsu and the great Empress-Dowager. That the baby Emperor was under reactionary guardians was soon perceived in the shelving of projected reforms and in the dismissal of Yuan Shih-kai, who, as Grand Guardian of Hsuan Tung, was the most outstanding figure in the Empire. That he was officially sent home to Honan to nurse a supposedly rheumatic leg did not conceal the fact that the Emperor's advisers were really afraid of his foreign-trained army. The actual outbreak of rebellion came in connection with the railway policy of the Throne. The attempt, under foreign advice, to standardize the railways and put them under central control was regarded as an interference with provincial rights and a pandering to foreign aggression. Hence the strikes which in the province of Szechuan led to the first shedding of blood in the revolutionary war. Too late the Throne attempted conciliatory measures, and Tuan Fang, a highly respected official, sent from Nanking to pacify the rioters, was slain. His head was sent suggestively to Li Yuan-hung at Wuchang.

Then, in dramatic fashion, came the outbreak at the Wu-han cities, Wuchang and Hankow, in Central China. On October 9, 1911, a bomb exploded in a Chinese house in the Russian concession at Hankow. Investigation revealed an entire plant, with bombs, revolutionary flags, and all the paraphernalia of revolt. The executioners were kept busy, and the conspirators at Wuchang, who were free to act, saw that the time for action was now or never. Li Yuan-hung, in command of the Manchu forces, was given the alternatives of death or of passing over to the leadership of the rebels. He chose the latter, and in his turn proceeded to give the Viceroy Jui the choice of death or escape. This choice was similarly used to the Viceroy's advantage. As yet there was no agreement as to what form the new government should assume. Few as yet ventured to propose a republic. But in the briefest time imaginable the Manchu authority crumbled in Central China. Li Yuan-hung's

army grew miraculously. The imperial yamêns were looted and burned. Soldiers omitting to don the white badge of the revolution were shot on sight. The change was so sudden and complete as to justify the choice of October 10 — the Double-Ten Festival, that is, the tenth day of the tenth month — as the Chinese Fourth of July. By mid-November fourteen provinces had declared their independence. Before the end of the month a somewhat groveling edict appeared in the Emperor's name, appealing to the mercy of the people and promising removal of grievances and the grant of a constitution. In the edict of November 4 the young Emperor was made to say: "Hereafter anything which the people may suggest, if it is in accordance with public opinion, we will openly adopt. Heaven owns the people and provides for them. The people's ears and eyes are Heaven's ears and eyes."

Yet the Manchu had not yet entirely surrendered. Yuan Shih-kai, as the only man who seemed likely to succeed, was called from his seclusion. Naturally doubtful as to whether his rheumatism was as yet sufficiently cured, Yuan at first demurred. Eventually he accepted the premiership, chose a cabinet, and attempted to gain time by negotiation. The time was well chosen, for with Nanking as yet untaken by the rebels and an imperial victory at Hankow, there was good opportunity for successful diplomacy. From day to day Yuan strengthened his position, and though personally in favor of a limited monarchy, was ready to accept a republic should circumstances so decree. The drift toward republicanism was irresistible. On December 28 the Imperial family left Peking, and an edict proclaimed that the question of monarchy or republic was to be left to a National Assembly. Next day, a provisional Convention, meeting in Nanking, elected Dr. Sun as first President of the Chinese Republic.

Even without the help of the proposed Assembly, affairs were now shaping themselves toward a definite end. This was nothing less than the abdication of the Manchu Emperor. Convinced of the hopelessness of the Imperial cause, Prince

Ching was willing to agree. On the other hand, Dr. Sun was willing to retire from the provisional presidency in favor of Yuan. So, on February 7, announcement of Hsuan Tung's abdication was made, with generous provision for the ex-Emperor, princes, and hereditary nobles. There was also a declaration that all the Five Families,[1] Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Muhammadans, and Tibetans, were to be treated as on an equal footing. The two hundred and sixty-seven years of Manchu rule over China came to an end on February 12, with three edicts in which the dynasty (imperial to the last) granted the Republic, and gave permission to Yuan to establish the same in coöperation with the provisional Government at Nanking. Yuan took the oath of office on March 10 and was soon at work. The new five-striped flag was adopted, a new national anthem experimented with, and the President remitted delinquent taxes and pardoned a host of prisoners.

It was soon clear that Yuan was to be dictator rather than president of a republic. The country had been swept into the current of republicanism largely through the influence of students recently returned from abroad, but the machinery for a republic was nonexistent. The President, moreover, was hampered with many difficulties besides those created by the reactionary element of China on the one side and the radical extremists on the other. There was, to begin with, the threat of national disintegration suggested by the situation in Mongolia. Soon after the Revolution, Mongolia declared its independence and put itself under the ecclesiastical ruler known as the Hutukhtu. As time went on, it became apparent that Russian intrigue was behind the Mongolian desire for independence, and the treaty presently made between Mongolia and Russia conceded special favors to the Muscovites, while making no reference whatever to the suzerain rights of China. In the next place, there was the financial situation, which offered

[1] The Five Families are recognized on the five-striped flag: red for the Chinese, yellow for the Manchus, blue for the Mongols, white for the Tibetans, and black for the Muhammadans.

Yuan no money wherewith to discharge existing obligations or promote new enterprises. It was sought, soon after the birth of the Republic, to obviate this difficulty by making a loan through bankers representing England, Germany, France, and the United States. Japan and Russia were subsequently taken into the consortium, which was henceforth known as the Six-Power-Loan Consortium. It planned to lend China the sum of $800,000,000. But the project was not liked in China. Efforts to raise an internal national loan had proved a failure, but people suspected a foreign loan might mean the alienation of territory. Another scheme, to raise $50,000,000 in London,[1] secured on the free surplus of the salt gabelle, was opposed by the Six-Power group. Then came the spectacular shattering of the Six-Power plan by the action of President Wilson. The President, just entering upon office, was impressed with the fears of the Chinese patriots, repudiated the "dollar diplomacy" of President Taft and Secretary Knox, and withdrew American support from the loan. Several years later Mr. Wilson changed his mind on this particular subject, but in 1913 he was anxious lest American action should seem to interfere with "the administrative independence of China."[2] America recognized the Republic, but the American bankers withdrew from the Consortium and left China to find some other way out of her financial quandary.

Yuan suffered from other things besides the financial stringency of 1913. Sun Yat-sen and Huang Hsing, disappointed at the trend of affairs, announced that Yuan "must be punished by force." So they started a new revolution, known now as the Revolution of 1913. But this time Sun was unable to rouse the nation as he had done against the Manchus. What was expected to become a nation-wide revolt against one who had sold out to the foreigners proved a mere flash in the pan. The main fighting was around Shanghai and Nanking, and

[1] This attempted loan is generally known as the Crisp Loan.

[2] The President did not seem to remember the extent to which, by treaty, the United States was already committed to interference with China's domestic concerns.

the latter city received the punishment of as brutal a looting at the hands of Chang Hsun's braves, fighting on the Government side, as had ever stained Chinese annals. The present executive of China, Tuan Chi-jui, achieved a good deal of reputation in the suppression of this revolt. Sun and Huang fled to Japan, leaving behind them the organization known as the Kuo-min-tang,[1] or Parliamentary party, to continue the agitation. But a little later, Yuan, apparently despairing of parliamentary success, abolished, first, the Kuo-min-tang, and, a few days later, the Parliament itself. With regard to the latter, it is only fair to say that it was in no condition to function. Observers, including the American adviser, Dr. Goodnow,[2] were convinced that the constant interference of Parliament was rendering efficient administration impossible, and that even a Cabinet system was premature.

From this time on, Yuan ruled as absolutely as any emperor. He made the provinces as subservient as possible to Peking. Yet, so disorganized was the collection of taxes that only ten per cent of the 1912 revenue reached the capital. This failure was partly due to the restless, swashbuckling military governors, known first as *tutuh*, then as *Chiang-chün*, later as *tuchün*, and now as *tupan*. Yuan kept these in hand as well as he could, but he never entirely controlled them. Meanwhile, a new constitution was being drawn up which, while it kept the power securely in the hands of the executive, showed some desire to use the ability of the able and to develop a parliamentary system along conservative lines. The provisional instrument was promulgated on May 1.[3] It gave dictatorial power to Yuan in the meantime, but provided for the drafting of a permanent constitution by a committee of the Council of State. This was to be brought up at a special national convention to be summoned by the President. Altogether, in 1914 Yuan's

[1] Literally, the Kingdom's People's Association.

[2] Dr. Frank Goodnow, President of Johns Hopkins University.

[3] Following upon the adoption of the first part of the Constitution, Yuan was elected President in October 1913.

policy seems to have been justified. By the help of his military "sons" the provinces appeared firmly under control and the nation for the most part unified. Domestic loans had unexpected success, and showed confidence in Yuan as well as the desire to keep the wolf from the Treasury door. Talk about China's subjugation by finance was dropped. Another notable accomplishment was the suppression of opium. In 1911 Great Britain had undertaken an annual decrease in the import of Indian opium, provided that China would cut down its home production. It was feared that in the turmoil of the revolution China might default in her pledge to this effect. But Yuan took up the suppression programme with great vigor, and in 1913 the British inspectors reported that the pledges were being well observed.

All this promising outlook was suddenly clouded by two things. The first was the outbreak of the Great War, with the subsequent involvement with Japan over Shantung. The second was the attempt of Yuan to make himself Emperor.

The Great War affected China both directly and indirectly. It put a stop to the various financial plans suggested by the European banks for the relief of China's financial difficulties. It also brought the Japanese before Tsingtao. The capture of the port in November 1914 was — as described earlier — followed by the presentation of the Twenty-one Demands. This had one good result in solidifying national opinion and giving some idea of the potential strength of the united nation. Yuan, fighting with his back against the wall, probably did the best that was possible to maintain the dignity of his country, but the people, traditionally convinced that any national shame must be the fault of its rulers, began to insist that Yuan had betrayed his trust by yielding to the Japanese ultimatum. A national Shame Day was named, to be kept for untold generations.

The motives which at this juncture led Yuan to plan for the restoration of the monarchy are a little hard to ascertain. Possibly he felt, in the light of recent events, that only as Em-

peror could he hope properly to defend the national dignity. Possibly the rumor may be true which places the blame upon his ambitious Korean wife. Very probably he was misled as to the actual desire of the nation for the change. Dr. Koo was sent to Europe to sound foreign opinion. Dr. Goodnow was asked to draw up a memorandum setting forth the respective advantages of republic and monarchy, and showed himself academically favorable to the restoration. The Anhui [1] military leaders pressed the step upon Yuan, and the Chou An Hui (Peace-Planning Society) was organized to soften the impact of the change. Even Vice-President Li Yuan-hung seems to have been won over, and was ready to accept a princedom, with the privilege of marrying one of his sons to one of the (new) Emperor's daughters. A national referendum was created by the Council of State on October 6, and the final voting on December 9 showed unanimous approval. Mr. Simpson (Putnam Weale) declares that the voting was manipulated in accord with Yuan's wishes.[2] On the other hand, Yuan's agents declare: "We tried to get some people to vote in the negative just for appearances' sake, but they would not do it." As for the foreign Ministers, it is claimed by some that they were inclined to acquiesce in the change, while others assert that they tendered to Yuan their advice to the contrary. With radical Kwangtung and conservative Honan alike voting unanimously for Yuan's enthronement, the way seemed smooth. So certain were the authorities as to the issue that even during the balloting they gave the schools a holiday, suppressed the Republican flag, and ordered the display of red lanterns. On New Year's Day 1916 the new reign was announced as Hung Hsien (Overflowing Pattern). Seals of gold and jade were made, robes prepared, and stamps issued to the post offices. Then suddenly bad news arrived from the distant province of Yunnan. On Christmas Day 1915 the province had declared its

[1] Generally spoken of as the Anfu Club. It represented statesmen of the two provinces of Anhui and Fukien.

[2] See Putnam Weale's *Fight for the Chinese Republic.*

independence, and the very men who had voted for the monarchy raised the standard of revolt. Other provinces followed. Liang Chi-chao, the famous scholar, made a press campaign against the monarchy. Very soon all the hitherto acquiescent voices were barking disapproval. Yuan realized his mistake and issued edicts, first postponing the change, and a month later cancelling the monarchical decree. But it was too late. The provinces, seeing their old master in retreat, pressed the advantage and demanded not merely an edict of cancellation but the abdication of the President. Yuan was still at bay when, on June 6, he was obliged to yield to an enemy beyond human power to resist: death came — in all probability from disease fomented by worry, though there were naturally suspicions of foul play. In any case, the death of Yuan at this time probably served the cause of China well. The President died, alas, almost unwept. But the time will come when it will be possible to make a fairer estimate of the worth of his character and of the services he rendered to China than Chinese are at present willing to admit.

Yuan was succeeded by his Vice-President, Li Yuan-hung, who had taken no inconsiderable part in the Revolution after his choice by the rebels as commander-in-chief. He had, however, of late been kept in Peking with little opportunity to explain himself, and it is hard to know what he actually felt with regard to Yuan's restoration plot. Now it became Li's policy to put the 1912 Constitution again into force, and to re-summon the Parliament for the purpose of completing and amending the Constitution. Tuan Chi-jui [1] became Premier, and during the next months the object of the Government was to carry through a loan with American bankers to relieve the situation financially.

Hitherto China, though resentful of Japan's part in the war and in many respects not unsympathetic with the position of Germans in the Orient, had remained officially neutral. But

[1] Yuan's chief military adviser in earlier days; organizer of the Northern army prior to the Revolution.

on Sunday, February 4, 1917, came the news through the American ambassador that the United States Government had broken off diplomatic relations with Germany. The intimation was coupled with an invitation addressed to the neutral nations to take the same course, by way of protest against the submarine campaign as then threatened and conducted. For some days there was much division of heart among Chinese statesmen as to the path to be followed. Obvious advantages were promised by association with the Allies, provided, of course, that victory came ultimately to that side. In any case it was possible to cease payment of the Boxer Indemnity installments. So the great decision was made on February 9, endorsing President Wilson's recommendation, and a protest was sent to the German Government. A month later, no satisfaction having been received, relations were severed and the general expectation was that China would presently proceed to a declaration of war. The Premier, Tuan, was in favor of this step. But President Li, anxious for Parliamentary concurrence and to some extent swayed by pro-German influences, hesitated. The Southern leaders, not overanxious for the strengthening of the Northern government, were also opposed. Tuan resigned, and matters became so confused that the American Government felt it necessary to remind Peking that the question of entering the war was, after all, of less importance than that of maintaining domestic harmony. Meanwhile, something else happened which quite took the attention of Chinese away from the war-pit of Europe.

On the resignation of Tuan, President Li had taken the strange step of inviting to Peking that arch-ruffian and prince of condottieri, Chang Hsun,[1] to act as mediator. Chang's terror-inspiring troops arrived early in June, and their leader was soon engaged in the attempt — through Wu Ting-fang,[2]

[1] An old-type military officer from Kiangsi; in command of the Imperial forces at Nanking during the Revolution.

[2] Chinese Minister at Washington in 1907; author of *America through the Spectacles of an Oriental Diplomat.*

Prime Minister at the time — to force the dissolution of Parliament. Wu declined, but his successor, General Chiang, was more compliant, and the edict of dissolution was issued on June 13. By July 1 the startling news was circulating in Peking that the ex-Emperor Hsuan Tung had returned. Chang, acting in collusion with "the modern Confucius," Kang Yu-wei, had proceeded to the Imperial City, obtained possession of the ex-sovereign, and then and there enthroned him as the restored head of the state. It was given out that many of the prominent statesmen of Peking, including the President, were cognizant of and favorable to the coup, which for a time seemed likely to be successful. But Chang had forgotten that unrepentant republican, Liang Chi-chao,[1] and the ex-Premier, Tuan. These were soon on the warpath, and many who had been prepared to accept a *fait accompli* were too apathetic to risk their lives in a gamble. The President took refuge in the Japanese legation, resigned his office to the Vice-President, Fêng Kuo-chang,[2] and confirmed Tuan as commander-in-chief. The monarchist forces melted away before the rumor that they might be bought off at $80 a head; the restored Emperor passed again into seclusion on July 7, and by July 12 the Dragon flag had again disappeared. Chang hid his chagrin in the Dutch legation, and politics flowed back into the old channels.

The new President, Fêng, had begun life as a fiddler in a small Chinese orchestra, but he was by no means leader in the very inharmonious orchestra to which he was now called to furnish direction. After appointing a council to arrange for the presidential election of 1918, he turned his attention to foreign affairs and followed the lead of Tuan, once again Premier, by making formal declaration of war against Germany on August 14. China was, of course, ignorant of the secret treaties by which in their hour of need Great Britain and France had agreed to support the claims of Japan, so she was naturally

[1] A brilliant scholar; started the first Chinese daily newspaper in Peking.

[2] As commander of the Imperial army at Wuchang during the Revolution, Fêng captured Hanyang from the revolutionists.

hopeful that her place as one of the Allies would ensure her a strategical position at the Peace Table, together with other advantages.

General Fêng had been chosen only to fill the unexpired term of five years for which Yuan had been elected in 1913. At the election, held September 4, 1918, the choice of the nation was between Fêng and a statesman of the old régime with monarchist leanings, Hsu Shih-chang.[1] Hsu, a former governor of Manchuria and an old-time associate of Yuan, had been in the last monarchist movement of Chang Hsun appointed Guardian of the Emperor. The election resulted in a landslide for Hsu. He received 425 out of the 436 votes, not so much on account of his own superlative fitness as from fear that Fêng, his rival, might not work well with Premier Tuan.[2] The result drew from President Wilson a letter full of good wishes and advice. But it was clear from the start that the South was hostile and not in a mood to be conciliated. The President attempted to call for an armistice, to be for China somewhat correspondent to the Armistice just hailed with delight upon the battlefields of Europe. But the conference which met in response at Shanghai led merely to the confirmation of each party in its own course.

[1] "Sworn Brother" and one of the "Four Friends" of Yuan Shih-kai; vacated the presidency June 1, 1922.

[2] The Parliament which elected Hsu is known as the Tuchün's Parliament.

CHAPTER XVIII

POLITICAL STIRRINGS IN WESTERN ASIA IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

In our amazement at the rapidity of those political and social changes which mark the early years of the twentieth century in Eastern Asia, we are apt to overlook the fact that scarcely less dramatic are the developments along similar lines in the western parts of the continent.

It has been mentioned in a previous chapter that, following upon the Russo-Japanese War, a convention was signed in 1907, by Great Britain and Russia, in which the latter Power agreed to recognize the preponderant interests of Great Britain in and around the Persian Gulf, while England allowed Russia similar advantage in the North. Meanwhile Persia, which had been in the throes of a popular movement demanding representative institutions, was clamoring for more liberty. It had already received from the Shah a new Constitution, together with an elective National Council, known as the Majlis.[1] The Shah's death and the accession of his son, Muhammad Ali Mirza, did nothing to allay the popular agitation. On the contrary, civil war broke out, and in January 1909 a revolution forced the new Shah to seek refuge in the Russian legation. This act was accepted as an abdication. Ahmed Mirza, a boy of thirteen, the ex-Shah's son, was elevated to the vacant throne, under a regent.

From the popular point of view everything seemed quite promising. Both Great Britain and Russia seemed friendly

[1] The word *Majlis* simply means "assembly."

to the national aspirations, and the northern Power was even beginning to withdraw her troops. Unluckily, the Nationalistic party began to reveal, in the flush of its success, a dangerous line of cleavage between the Revolutionary or democratic wing and the Moderate wing of the movement. The former was so much the stronger that ere long a Cabinet of Revolutionary tendencies replaced the Moderate administration, and began to show signs of further disintegration. It was particularly and needlessly truculent in its attitude toward Russia. In fact, attacks were made both upon the Consul-General of Russia and on the British Consul. So great was the disorder that foreign intervention was threatened.

Then for a time there was a return to more moderate counsels. Things appeared to be settling down, when suddenly the ex-Shah returned from Russia. He was soon defeated and went back whence he had come, largely because Great Britain studiously held aloof from encouraging the adventure. A serious attempt was made in 1911 to bring some order out of the financial chaos by the employment of an American financier, Mr. Morgan Shuster.[1] The newcomer soon realized the absolute necessity of possessing dictatorial powers if he was to achieve success. Unfortunately, interference with the customs, which were under Belgian officials, brought about his ears a swarm of critical hornets. Rebuffs came from every imaginable quarter. Some were probably due to Mr. Shuster's own indiscretion, as, for instance, the appointment of Major Stokes of the Indian army to organize a body of Treasury gendarmes. Other activities, all in the interest of reform but obnoxious for various reasons to the critics, led to an ultimatum from Russia to the Government, demanding Mr. Shuster's dismissal. The Cabinet had no alternative but to acquiesce. Sir Percy Sykes sums up the story in the remark: "His selection was perhaps unfortunate, but, in any case, Russia would hardly have permitted him to succeed."

[1] A New York lawyer, who rendered service to the Cuban Government in 1898 and was collector of customs at Manila from 1901 to 1906.

The departure of Mr. Shuster gave Russia increased hold on the North. Great Britain, by the Anglo-Russian Convention, had no ground for complaint, though she did what was possible to assist Persia in the retention of her independence. At the same time she was by no means averse to taking the opportunity to strengthen her influence within the permitted sphere. The ex-Shah and his brother, Salah-el-Daulah, were both giving trouble at this time. This, together with normal emptiness of the Treasury, gave the Cabinet more than enough to worry about during 1913. It was with the greatest difficulty that the Swedish gendarmerie kept the country from absolute anarchy during the persistent and irritating attacks of blackmailing bandits along the frontier.

To add to the risks of the situation, there were the very definite activities of Germany. The story of the Bagdad Railway project is one of romantic and grandiose planning and of bitterly frustrated hope. As early as 1911 there was anticipation that by such a scheme German-Austrian-Turkish pressure might be put upon England in Egypt and the East. A great highway from Berlin to Constantinople and thence through central Anatolia, and — by tunneling through the Taurus and Amanus mountains — through all Asia Minor to the Euphrates Valley and Basra, was a magnificent undertaking in which commercial opportunities loomed only less in importance than the possibilities of military strategy. Prior to 1896 Germany had no trade interests in the Persian Gulf. An establishment was started in that year for the manufacture of mother-of-pearl, and in the following year a German vice-consulate was created at Bushire. Then followed the attempt to buy a site for the Bagdad Railway terminus, an attempt foiled by the pledge of the Arabs to the British not to sell. In 1906 the Hamburg–Amerika line, nevertheless, started a steamer service to the Persian Gulf, and made their boats so attractive by the terms they offered that trade picked up rapidly. At the time of the Great War, Great Britain was already negotiating with Germany and Turkey over matters

in the Persian Gulf. It seems likely that, had the war not come, Germany would at last have obtained the coveted terminus without serious opposition from her rival.

When the war came, Persia was just celebrating the coronation of the young Shah. Almost the first act of the new sovereign was to call together the Majlis for the purpose of declaring neutrality. The situation, however, was one to make the preservation of neutrality a very difficult feat of balance. The Russians were hated for their recent aggressions, and the British at least suspected because of their complicity with the Russian plans. Yet, though many were strongly of opinion that the best course was to join the Turks and let the Christians devour one another, Russians and British were too uncomfortably near. Persia had no army but the 7000 trained men under the Swedish gendarmerie, since the Persian troops under Persian officers were quite useless.

Both Russia and Turkey at once entered Persian territory in the neighborhood of Lake Urmia. Great Britain proceeded to occupy Bahrein Island in the Gulf. Then troops from India were moved up the river to protect the Anglo-Persian Oil Company's headquarters at Abadan. Basra was taken on November 23. So, both in the Northwest and in the Southwest, Persian neutrality was more or less disregarded, and the occupation was not without its tragedies. The worst was the massacre of the Assyrian Christians who lived in the neighborhood of Lake Urmia on both the Turkish and Persian sides of the boundary. Even before the Turks declared war on the Allies, these Christians, who were supposed to sympathize with Russia, were attacked by Turks and semisavage Kurds.[1] Some fled to the cities, others were massacred, after unspeakable sufferings. When the Russians evacuated Urmia early in 1915, the plight of the Christian refugees was fearful, and from that time to nearly the close of the war the sufferings endured by a great

[1] Inhabitants of Kurdistan, that part of Mount Taurus which buttresses the Armenian table-land; probably the same as the Carduchi who opposed the retreat of the Ten Thousand.

multitude of helpless men, women, and children are beyond description. It is a dreadful story, relieved only by the many instances of heroic martyrdom accepted for the cause of the faith.

Germany made at this time vigorous efforts to embroil Persia and Afghanistan with the Allies. Agents circulated through these countries representing the Emperor as a convert to Islam, and calling upon all true Moslems to join the jihad. The propaganda was so far successful that "at the end of 1915 seven out of the seventeen branches of the Imperial Bank (a British company) were in enemy hands and the British colonies had been expelled from Central and Southern Persia." The situation of the Allies at this time was desperately critical. A German mission had been honorably received in Afghanistan; the Russians had been driven back by the Turks in West Persia; the British had suffered the disaster of Kut-el-Amara.[1]

Then, just as things appeared to be at their blackest, a turn came for the better. Sir Percy Sykes organized his South Persia Rifles and restored order in the South. The Russians had a last flare-up of success in West Persia. Best of all, early in 1917 Sir Stanley Maude recaptured Kut and advanced to the taking of Bagdad. Even though the Russian collapse came in the same month, exposing Northwest Persia to the ravages of Bolshevism as well as to the operations of the liberated German and Austrian prisoners, it was possible to move the British troops a little more freely, to avert the overrunning of Northwest Persia and the threatened move on India. We shall have more to say in a later chapter as to Persia's connection with the war.

During the last years of the nineteenth century and the first years of the twentieth the history of Asiatic Turkey is rather the story of subjugated peoples living within the bounds of the Turkish Empire than the history of a government ruling from Constantinople. In the first place, we must summarize a large stretch of interesting national life — the story of Armenia.

[1] A port on the Tigris at the junction of the Shatt-el-Hai; till the war an important Turkish post for the control of the lower Tigris.

Armenia, a high table-land between the Caucasus and the Black and Caspian seas, is — or rather, was — occupied by "an intelligent, laborious, cultivated people, who, joining Asiatic quickness of perception to the spirit, the soul of Europe, has ever been the sentinel of Græco-Latin civilization in the Orient." [1] The kingdom of Armenia has a long and interesting history. Native tradition traces its origin back to a grandson of the Biblical Japhet. Classical narratives describe the Armeni as part of a great exodus from Thrace, entering the land of Urartu about the seventh century B.C. The early story is mingled in a confused way with the history of Assyrian, Mede, Hittite, and Scythian. Though speaking an Aryan tongue, the Armeni ethnically were evidently a people of varied stock. Under the Achæmenians they formed a Persian satrapy, and under the Seleucids a province. Later, under Roman dominion, the Armenian chief took the title of king, though his sphere of rule was much restricted. The story of the new capital, Artaxarta, in which for a time Hannibal is said to have taken refuge; of Tigranes the Great, who was reduced to submission about 54 B.C.; of the son of Tigranes, who was held responsible for the defeat of Crassus, and how later he was captured by Mark Antony, to be decapitated by order of Cleopatra just before the Battle of Actium — all this will be found worth the looking up and studying in detail.

About the beginning of the fourth century Armenia became Christian. Though traditions accounting for the change are not very dependable, the name of Gregory the Illuminator [2] emerges with a lustre which is probably authentic. Bishops from Armenia were summoned to the Council of Nicæa, called by Constantine the Great in 325 A.D. to settle certain practical and doctrinal questions which had arisen in the Church. At the beginning of the next century the invention of the Armenian alphabet of thirty-six letters gave a powerful impetus to

[1] Paul Deschanel.

[2] Son of Anak, a Parthian chief; when his father was slain, Gregory was carried by his Christian nurse to Cappadocia and there brought up as a Christian.

literature. This devotion to language and literature survived the fierce assaults of Islam which succeeded the Byzantine and Sassanid domination. For a time, indeed, Armenia was partly in Persia and partly in the Eastern Empire, but eventually it came into the heritage of the Khalifs, though a certain autonomy was permitted in the election to the governorship from the leading native family. During these centuries the Armenian Church and nation were as anxious to keep their independence of the Byzantine as to protect their nationality and faith against the Moslem. When the Seljuk Turks surged over the land in the eleventh century, Armenia was hard put to it to retain its ancient and jealously guarded privileges. Many Armenians at this time were tempted to find a refuge in the Taurus Mountains in Cilicia. In the time of the Crusades the Armenians formed a valuable outpost of Christianity in the conflict against the Saracens. But the failure of the Crusades led to the ruin of the Armenians in the twelfth century, though the reign of Leo II, 1185–1219, was an interlude of recovered glory. On Leo's death came the conquests of Jenghiz Khan and a general submergence beneath the devastating tide of the Mongol. This was much worse after the conversion of the Mongols to the faith of Islam. The invasion of Timur the Lame at the close of the fourteenth century was another wave of the same awful deluge of bloody destruction. Then we have the Ottoman Turks, under whom Persian and Turkish Armenia suffered about equally. Religious fanaticism was carried to terrible extremes, and the life of any Christian was at the mercy of any Moslem. During those years there were steady migrations of Armenians into Russia and other parts of Europe — a policy encouraged by Peter the Great.

The nineteenth century at first showed considerable improvement on its predecessors in the position of Armenians within the Turkish Empire. Education spread, and Armenians were admitted to office in Turkey and Persia as well as in Russia. This condition prevailed until after the Crimean War. In all

the history of this time there were few negotiations between Turkey and the European Powers which did not in some way provide for reforms in Armenia, yet for the most part the reforms were never put into operation, once the negotiations were concluded. In the Russo-Turkish War of 1878 the Russian army of the Caucasus was commanded by an Armenian, General Loris Melikoff. In the treaties which followed this war, pledges were made that, upon the evacuation of the territory occupied by Russia, "the Sublime Porte binds and obligates itself to carry into effect without delay the reforms and improvements called for by local needs in those provinces inhabitated by the Armenians, and to guarantee their security against the Kurds and the Circassians." It is hardly necessary to say that these pledges were never honored, nor did the Powers insist upon their fulfillment. The existence of secret nationalistic societies from 1887 onward gave the Turkish Government the desired excuse for translating suspicion into ground for persecution. In due course came the massacres of 1895 and 1896, carried out by Turkish troops and Kurdish irregulars. France, Russia, and Great Britain all were pressing at the time for reforms, but their action did not prevent the massacres. Armenians escaped in large numbers by migration to the United States. "The great mass of the Armenians who died in these massacres were martyrs to their faith. Special efforts were made to force priests to apostasy. An official investigation showed that one hundred seventy Armenian clergymen in a single province were tortured to death because they would not deny their Christ. In the province of Kars is a group of sixty towns and villages in which no Christian church was left standing and no Christian priest was left alive. Investigation showed that five hundred sixty-eight churches were destroyed and two hundred eighty-two were transformed into mosques." [1]

No ethnical group in the Ottoman dominions hailed with intenser delight than the Armenian the Turkish Revolution

[1] W. E. Curtis.

and the fall of Abdul Hamid. "There is no longer any doubt that Abdul Hamid . . . planned and ordered a general massacre of Christians in Constantinople and other parts of the Empire for Friday, the fourteenth of April, in order to force the European Powers to seize and occupy the city. In that way he hoped to save his throne." This hope, as we know, failed, and the régime of the "Young Turks" began amid sanguine expectations. Yet under the Young Turks the fate of the Armenians turned out to be no less dreadful than under the Red Sultan. Massacre followed massacre; towns and villages were pillaged. Though early in 1914 reforms were again being discussed, the coming of the Great War put an end to discussion. The Turks and their allies, moreover, found in the war excuse for a fresh, deliberate attempt to exterminate the Armenian people. This was almost avowedly the policy of the Committee of Union and Progress. The bloody work was put into operation methodically in June 1915, after the failure of the British assault upon the Dardanelles. The entire Armenian population, outside those remaining in Constantinople, were to be driven from their homes and tortured or slain on their way to the concentration camps, or in the camps themselves. Some governors humanely refused to carry out their orders, but the work was, nevertheless, done with sufficient thoroughness. Fifty per cent of the Armenians in Turkey were either slain outright or starved to death. This appalling ruthlessness "caused the Armenian question to enter a new plane,"[1] since it was clear that no longer could the Armenian people be forced to live under a tyranny so despicable. In the words of President Wilson: "The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities who are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development."

Even before the collapse of Russia, the three transcaspian states of Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan had declared their

[1] *Armenia and the Armenians*, Aslan Kevork, translated by Pierre Crabitès.

independence and proclaimed themselves a federal republic, though unable to hold together against the enemy. Just before the end of the war, "the story of Armenia, hitherto the story of a dispersed people without a country, crystallizes into the story of an independent Armenian state, a state born to misfortune and bloodshed, surrounded by enemies and inaccessible to its friends, a state whose survival and growth are matters more for hope than for confidence."[1] Of some of these misfortunes and disappointments we have still to tell.

Of Turkish nationalism, so far as it affected the Asiatic portions of the Empire, a few things may be said. It has had such a decided influence upon the whole history of Islam since the war that a brief explanation is the more necessary. "The Young Turks," says Mr. A. J. Toynbee, "were not Nationalists from the beginning; the Committee of Union and Progress was founded in good faith to liberate and reconcile all the inhabitants of the Empire on the principles of the French Revolution. At the Committee's Congress in 1909 the Nationalists were shouted down with the cry: 'Our goal is organization and nothing else.' But Young Turkish ideals rapidly narrowed; Liberalism gave way to Pan-Islamism, Pan-Islamism to Pan-Turanianism, and the Ottoman State idea changed from liberty, equality, and fraternity to the Turkification of non-Turkish nationalities by force."[2] There was from henceforth no real desire to propitiate the Arabs. Even Islam as a religion came to be secondary to the prestige of the Turk. Proposals were even made to replace the Arab script with a new Turkish alphabet, to remove Arabic texts from the mosques, and to recite the prayer for the Khalif in Turkish. It will be easily seen that such a policy was likely to prove disastrous in such an event as a world war. The Turkish Government had in past generations attempted, first, to absorb the Christian populations within the empire; secondly, to destroy those populations by setting them one against the other. Now it was the

[1] W. J. Childs, in the Encyclopædia Britannica.
[2] *Turkey, a Past and a Future.*

deliberate plan to Ottomanize everything, even though the process involved the destruction of all non-Turks.

The first experiment had been in the direction of eliminating the Armenians. Soon came the turn of the Arabs, both in Mesopotamia and in Arabia. In the peninsula, the province of Yemen had been in revolt for years. In fact, at the time of the Great War the control of the Turkish Sultanate extended little beyond the Hedjaz Railway, the two holy cities of Mecca and Medina,[1] and two or three of the ports. The revolt of Husein, the Sherif of Mecca, to the side of the Allies was the beginning of the end for Turkish dominion in Arabia. Husein had been made Sherif by the Sultan in 1908, as one likely to serve the policy of Constantinople. But from 1915 he gradually came over to the Allied cause, and in June 1916 issued his famous proclamation of independence.[2] To appreciate the significance of this act one must go a little farther back.

From the days of the Prophet, Mecca and Medina, as the sacred cities, had given great prestige to this part of Arabia. At the end of the eighteenth century, the fierce puritans of the central desert, the Wahabis,[3] mentioned in an earlier chapter, had made a temporarily successful attempt to save Mecca from the Turkish Sultan, whom they regarded as falsely claiming the Khalifate. With infinite difficulty this rebellion was ultimately crushed by Mehemet Ali,[4] then Pasha of Egypt and later the first Khedive. The expulsion of the Wahabis in 1813 was supposed to have placed Mecca directly under the Sultan, so the Sherifate was created, though the relations between Sultan and Sherif were never quite cordial. The Turks even found it advisable to keep certain members of the Sherif's family at Constantinople, to minimize the chances of disloyalty. When the Turkish Revolution came in 1908, the new Sherif, Husein, felt the opportunity favorable to make a bid for independence. The succession of wars in which Turkey had been

[1] Properly *Madinah*, that is, "The City (of the Prophet)."
[2] See text of the proclamation in Hurgronje, *The Revolt in Arabia*.
[3] See ch. xi.
[4] See ch. xi.

more or less constantly engaged, first with Italy and then with the Balkan States, made any serious interference with his plans unlikely.

It was in August 1916 that Husein issued his proclamation against the Turkish Government. A little later he announced himself as Sultan of the Arabs, a title somewhat modified after a while, when the Allies recognized him as the King of Hedjaz.

The part taken in the Great War by the Arabs was honorable, and contributed not a little to the success of General Allenby's campaign in Palestine. At the Peace Table King Husein was represented by his third son, the Emir Feisal, afterward King of Iraq. We shall have occasion again to refer to the treaty by which Turkey renounced all rights over the Arabian peninsula, on condition that the King of Hedjaz should allow pilgrims access to the Holy Places.

A few words will suffice for some remaining portions of the Turkish dominions which, after the war, were placed under European mandates.

Syria had suffered severely for some years before the Great War, though only indirectly, from Turkey's campaigns against Italy and the Balkan States. In February 1912, however, Beyrout was bombarded by an Italian squadron and received some damage. During the Great War Syria was naturally overrun, first by the Turks and later by the British. Damascus was captured by British and Arabs on October 1, 1918. Syria had always been looked upon as more or less in the French sphere of influence, hence it was no surprise that, at the conclusion of peace, France was made the mandatory for Syria by the League of Nations. Of France's troubles with her mandate and of the war with the Druses [1] after the retirement of the British army of occupation we must speak hereafter.

In Palestine proper, to the south of Syria, the situation prior to the war was in no wise different from that in the north. The first year of the war brought terrible misery to the people,

[1] A people of Mid-Syria, possessing a secret faith; they expect the return of their prophet Hakim to conquer the world. See Gertrude L. Bell, *The Desert and the Sown.*

through Turkish rapacity and the blockade combined. The situation was aggravated by the occurrence of one of the most destructive plagues of locusts in Palestinian history. It was to a starved populace that the British army, under General Allenby, came at last in December 1917, through the capture of Jerusalem. From this time onward the settlement of matters under British administration was sadly hampered by the commitments as to Zionism [1] made by the British Minister of Foreign Affairs, Lord (then Mr.) Balfour. The Arabs proved intensely hostile to a large immigration of Jews, carrying with it the assumption that Palestine was the Jewish homeland. Tactless propaganda on the part of Zionists assisted instead of allaying the spread of Moslem opposition. The Zionist Commission did its best to settle the thousands of immigrants who arrived from Russia, Poland, Bulgaria, Persia, Austria, and elsewhere, but the situation for a long while was extremely dangerous, with raids and riots of frequent occurrence.

Under the mandate given to Great Britain by the San Remo Conference of April 1920, Sir Herbert Samuel was made the first High Commissioner of Palestine, and his difficult task has been carried out with conspicuous wisdom and some degree of success. Of certain developments of Zionism and the Palestine mandate we shall speak later.

As to Mesopotamia, now the Kingdom of Iraq, it must be remembered that here too, many years before the war, the sympathies of the people were Arab rather than Turkish, though important posts continued to be filled from Constantinople. "Young Turks" seemed, from the Revolution of 1908, inclined to develop the country and restore to it some of its ancient fertility. They even engaged the famous English engineer, Sir William Willcocks,[2] to plan a system of irrigation which should remove the danger of alternate floods and

[1] The movement looking for the repatriation of the Jews in Palestine, founded by Theodor Herz in 1896. See *The Jewish Encyclopædia, sub voce.*

[2] Carried through the making of the famous Assuan Dam in 1898; commenced the irrigation of Mesopotamia in 1911.

droughts. Yet hostility fomented immediately before the war from Germany, and connected not remotely with Teutonic schemes for the making of the Bagdad Railway and the control of the oil resources of Persia, developed especially against the British. During the war itself the Mesopotamian Arabs gave comparatively little assistance to the Turks. They were generally ready to hang upon the skirts of either army for the sake of plundering the wounded. The main incidents of the campaign on the Euphrates have already been mentioned.

After the war there appeared some division of opinion between the Government of India and the British Home Government over the disposition of Iraq, as the territory had come to be called. Many favored its retention by Great Britain, while others as strongly supported the spirit of General Maude's proclamation that the British came as liberators, not as conquerors. For the time being, the mandate was accepted. The Emir Feisal, son of King Husein, was declared king on August 23, 1921. The final issue has yet to be determined, and the boundary between the kingdom and the Turkish dominions is being adjudicated by the League of Nations. At least one thing is certain, namely, that Iraq will not go back to the tyranny under which it has groaned during past centuries. The world's hope is that the great river valleys which were once the most fertile region of the civilized world, and which, under Hammurabi, 2000 years before Christ, had a system of irrigation that made a garden of the whole country, may once again under a benign government and a stable administration flourish to the happiness of its tribes.

CHAPTER XIX

ASIA AND THE WORLD WAR

Why should the World War have concerned Asia? In August 1914 there were many who asked this particular question. Many, moreover, tried their best so to localize the conflict that the races of Asia might not be called upon to witness — much less to take part in — the fratricidal strife of the white races of Europe. They might just as well have attempted to sweep back the rollers of the Pacific Ocean as they break upon the shore.

The reason is not far to seek. The interests and possessions of the belligerent Powers interlocked in Asia even more than in Europe. There were Australia and New Zealand, long suspicious of the policy which had acquired the Bismarck Islands and other groups to the north. There was Tsingtao in Shantung, and there was Hongkong off the coast of Kwangtung, representing antagonistic ambitions as much as if they looked out upon the waters of the North Sea. There were the great fleets at their Pacific stations, straining for the signal to cut across the trade routes of their competitors.

There was, again, Japan, eager for the establishment of her own hegemony in the East, and more than ready to avail herself of the opportunity to repay to Germany the affront of 1895. Everywhere, in Asia as in Europe, the stake on the seas was as great as that upon the land. It was discerned from the beginning that this was to be no mere struggle of armies in array, but a war of blockades, of cutting off supplies, of destroying trade present and potential.

So, with German and Allied possessions scattered over the Pacific, with Russian territory stretching from East Prussia to Vladivostok, with India an Allied asset which hostile intrigue hoped to turn into a liability, and (after the entry of Turkey into the war) with all Islam potentially involved, it was necessarily to be a hard time for neutrals in Asia as elsewhere.

Some features of Japan's part in the war have already been touched upon. It had been expected by the Central Powers that Japan would be caught at a disadvantage, seeing that her finances were in bad condition and that the Yamamoto Government had fallen in the spring of 1914. But Okuma at once took the Premiership, with Baron Kato as Foreign Minister. It was felt that a strong foreign policy, at previous times of crisis, was something which was bound to unite all parties. The alliance with Great Britain gave quite sufficient reason for the declaration of war, but it is hardly to be doubted that the chance to remove Germany from her favored position in Shantung was welcome to Japanese statesmen. The *Drang nach Osten* policy which had followed the visit of Prince Henry of Prussia to the Far East and of the Kaiser to Constantinople was even more obnoxious to Japan than to England. When the capture of Kiaochao was achieved, it became at once plain that Japan did not consider her part in the war at an end.

It was not a little strange to find a Japanese fleet working in coöperation with the Australian squadron, in view of the fears the Island Continent had expressed as to the ambitions of Nippon. But the partnership worked well and the Japanese ships, strung out over the Pacific, not only gathered in such German possessions as the Marshall, Caroline, and Pelew Islands, but helped to head off Von Spee, and so made possible the British victory off the Falklands.[1] They assisted also in the operations which brought to an end the romantic exploits of the Emden, when the famous raider was destroyed by the Australian cruiser Sydney off the Cocos-Keeling Islands.[2] To sum up the advantage brought to the Allied cause by a fleet

[1] Dec. 8, 1914. [2] Nov. 10, 1914.

of eighteen battleships, thirty-four cruisers, and many smaller vessels would be difficult. One must recall the protection of the trade routes north and south, the assistance given by Japanese destroyers in the Mediterranean, and the sending of huge quantities of warlike stores to assist Russia, not to mention the direct loan to that country. There were many attempts made during the war to embroil Japan with the United States. Some of them were of an ingenious character, but no complaint of lukewarm loyalty is possible. Of course Japan benefited by the war, in that she was able to increase her merchant marine by some 617,000 tons — about thirty-six per cent. However, as the United States during the same period increased her own by 7,746,000 tons, or three hundred and eighty-two per cent, criticism is as invidious in the one case as in the other.

With regard to Japanese participation in the Siberian campaign we shall have to speak later. There will also come up again, more than once, such matters as the Shantung question and the Twenty-one Demands. Here it is sufficient to say that Okuma attempted by the Demands to make use of the opportunity to obtain some definite settlement of Japan's many outstanding claims against her neighbor. In view of the approaching general election he seemed to believe that a "strong forward policy" was demanded by the people.[1]

In the case of China, we have seen that the delay in declaring war, after breaking off relations with Germany, was the result of domestic complications and quarrels between the various political leaders. All saw the advantages of a state of war, if only to escape the payment of the Boxer Indemnity to Germany. This in itself was a saving of $30,000 a day. But the Kuo-min-tang, or People's Party, was not willing to see the advantage of the action go to Premier Tuan. So three months' farcical struggle followed the breaking of relations, during which time we have the incidents of the dismissal of Parliament, the resignation of President Li, and the monarchist rising of Chang Hsun, behind which German money was

[1] See Gubbins, *The Making of Modern Japan*, ch. xxviii.

thought to be at work. After all this, the restored Premier, Tuan, had only to make his bargain with the Allies, and the declaration of war came about naturally on August 14, 1917.[1]

The advantage to China of being enrolled with the Allies was obvious. Included were such things as the following: the cancelling of the indemnity due to the Central Powers, and the suspension of payments to the Allies; the promise that the customs tariff should be immediately revised; the promise of a loan, since President Wilson had changed his mind on the subject of the Consortium; and the anticipation that a place at the Peace Table at the conclusion of the war would enable China to demand return of the occupied part of Shantung. There was also, doubtless, the hope — albeit a vain one — that entrance upon a foreign war might solidify the patriotism of the nation and unite the Northern and Southern governments.

On the side of the Allies, moreover, there were advantages expected from having China in line and no longer in the uncertain list of neutrals. The Allies sorely needed shipping, including the large German tonnage interned in Chinese ports. They needed also the suppression of German intrigue in China, the removal of the two hundred Germans in the Chinese public service, the internment of the many agents who were doing their best to circulate false reports, the closing of the Deutsch-Asiatische Bank, and the cutting off of those instrumentalities which were fomenting trouble in India, Afghanistan, and Central Asia. As for man-power, the Allies had already drawn upon coolie labor for the battle-fronts in France and Flanders. It was of less importance to consider the training and equipment of a Chinese army.

The importance of Asiatic Russia in the war will be plain when we consider, first, the fact that the Far East was practically Russia's sole means of communication with the outer world, and secondly, that this huge territory, comprising one third of the continent, had been gradually filling up with immigrants from European Russia. At the time of the Revolution

[1] See Reinsch, *An American Diplomat in China.*

seventy-five per cent of the population of 20,000,000 were white immigrants from European Russia. This by itself was making for a mighty change in Asia. In the earliest years of the Russian occupation the settlers were mostly traders, dealing in furs and minerals. Then came the Cossack invasion and the settlement of Cossack bands to afford protection to those already there. After this we have the period beginning as early as 1648, but really dating from about 1753 — when penal servitude was substituted for capital punishment. Lastly, and especially after 1861, came the period of free immigration. Between 1906 and 1910 some 3,000,000 settlers came from Europe, and the Government lands were thrown open through what was known as the black-soil belt, along the route subsequently traversed by the Siberian Railway. More recently has come the colonization of Eastern Siberia. In 1911 it was estimated that there were about 250,000 Russians in the Amur territory.

We have already noted the change of policy which brought Russia and Japan to a common understanding, some years before the outbreak of the war. The rapprochement began about 1907 with the signing of the Fisheries Convention (clearing up their respective fishing-rights off the Sakhalin coast), and the general Political Convention in which each Power agreed to respect the other's territorial integrity. On July 4, 1910 and in July 1912 secret treaties were signed of which as to their exact terms we can only guess. But these were supplemented by another secret treaty, made in 1916, during the war, the object of which was avowedly to preserve China "from the political domination of any third power holding inimical aims against Russia or Japan." The Soviet Government later was pleased to interpret this as aimed against America and Great Britain. It is fairly certain that it was rather directed against the ambitions of Germany. It was in reality a defensive alliance.

Of Russian assistance given to the cause of Mongolian independence immediately after the Chinese Revolution we have

already spoken. The *coup d'état* at Urga, by which Mongolia broke off its relations with China and accepted the Urga Hutukhtu as ruler, took place on December 1, 1911. Soon after came the intervention of Russia and the signing of the treaty which pledged her to the maintenance of Mongolian autonomy. In part all this was a consequence of the agreement reached with Japan. In part it was due to a sincere desire on the part of the Mongolian princes for Russian protection. The princes were not really averse to Chinese suzerainty, provided it was tenuous enough not to interfere with their autonomy. So, while China naturally entered a formal protest over the making of a treaty which completely ignored the interests of the Middle Kingdom, Mongolia for its own part was quite ready to accept the agreement of November 1913, by which the limits of autonomy were defined and a nominal Chinese suzerainty acknowledged. In 1915, however, Russia, engaged in a titanic conflict on her western frontier, was in no position to check the Chinese forces which had begun to pour into Mongolia. So we have another treaty, the tripartite agreement of June 7, 1915, signed at Kiakhta, by which all the parties were placated. Russia got valuable concessions to compensate for loss of face; China got the acknowledgment of a doubtful form of suzerainty; Mongolia got the acceptance of the Living Buddha as the ruler of an autonomous state. Evidently, the agreement between Russia and Japan was in force. Russia was permitted freedom for her Mongolian adventure; Japan was allowed to extend her hegemony in Manchuria. The rebuffs suffered by either power were from third parties, ignorant of the secret compact.

Then came the Russian Revolution of March 1917, which threw Orient as well as Occident into the direst confusion. Of further Chinese intervention and of how "Little Hsu"[1] cancelled the Mongolian autonomy we shall speak later. At present we must avoid detail and try to envisage only the general confusion. This confusion, with its disintegration of nationalities and parties, was increased by the overthrow of the

[1] Hsu Shu-tseng, formerly private secretary to Tuan Chi-jui.

provisional Government of Kerensky in November 1917, and the establishment of the Soviets in power. By January 1918 the Soviets were in control throughout Siberia, and the possibility arose that Japan might have to play a part in the Great War on a far different scale than she had at first intended. Subsequent events are in large part connected with the movement eastward in June 1918 of the masses of Czechoslovaks captured by Russia in her campaigns against Austria and now set free by the collapse of the Czarist régime. When news of their march was received in Europe and America, it was at once perceived that here were possible allies, whose strength, now in danger of disruption, might become of the first importance in the reconstruction of Russia and in particular of Siberia. The proposal was immediately made to recognize the Czechoslovaks as allies, and to send a mixed body of troops to assist their progress eastward. The situation was delicate. None of the Powers wished to convey to Russia the impression that she was being invaded. Some Powers, too, were particularly sensitive as to placing in the way of Japan the temptation to advance her own interests in Siberia. Application was made to Japan by the United States to assist in the rescue of the Czechoslovaks. On August 3, 1918 a mixed force of British, French, and Japanese was landed on the coast. Later American, Canadian, Italian, and Serbian detachments were added to the expedition and all placed under the command of the Japanese General Otani. Success followed. The Allied forces fought their way from Vladivostok far into the Amur region and the transbaikal provinces, to protect the railway lines which afforded the Czechoslovaks the means of reaching their goal. The difficulties, of course, were not few. They arose from the disorganized condition of the government, from the presence of large numbers of freed German prisoners, from the intrigues of Soviet agents, and from the fact that the Siberian Railway was out of commission.

It was the expectation of those responsible for the expedition that the presence of the Allied troops would give a chance to the

saner elements in Russia to recover some kind of political control. Between the discredited Imperialists and the Bolshevists there was a large party of moderate democrats who to all appearance only wanted leadership to pull things out of the fire. For a time such leadership seemed offered in the person of Admiral Koltchak, a naval officer of ability and repute, who with his new Siberian army was ready to take over the Ural front. He won a considerable victory over the Bolshevists at Perm, but the results of the victory were rendered almost nugatory through the constant infiltration of freed prisoners and Bolshevist agencies into the liberated territory. Moreover, dangerous reactionaries, such as the Cossack General Semenoff, proved as mischievous as the agents of the Soviets. Semenoff made Chita his capital and defied Koltchak all the winter long.

In the spring of 1919, with new operations about to begin, Koltchak's army had good grounds for believing that the country would be saved and stabilized by the Admiral. The Allies — England particularly — sent to Koltchak vast supplies of war material, though inclined to blame Japan and the United States for not giving completer support. All support, however, was in vain. The star of Koltchak waned toward the fall of 1919. Omsk, the capital of his All-Russia Government, was captured by the Reds in November. The defeated leader fled to Irkhutsk, on Lake Baikal, and again attempted to set up a government. Once again he was overtaken, and at the beginning of 1920 he was captured and executed.

Some time before this England and France had withdrawn their troops from Siberia. By 1920 the Chinese and Italian forces were likewise withdrawn. In January 1920 the United States decided to terminate its own part in the Siberian enterprise, leaving the Japanese to continue alone the guarding of the Trans-Siberian Railway until the extrication of the Czechoslovaks was completed in September 1920. Japan then proceeded to evacuate the transbaikal and Amur provinces, but continued the occupation of Northern Manchuria and the

southern part of the Maritime Province till October 25, 1922. To Japan the whole adventure was costly in the extreme. There was a long casualty list, and the expense to the treasury was at least 700,000,000 yen. The continued retention of Northern Sakhalin was in reprisal for the massacre of 700 Japanese at Nikolaievsk in 1920. Of this more hereafter.

We have now seen enough of the general situation in Asia at the close of the Great War to attempt a brief survey of the handling of questions Asiatic at the Peace Table at Versailles.

It was with immense hope that the world watched the assembling of representatives of the World Powers in the Salon of the Clock at the Palace of Foreign Affairs on the Quai d'Orsay. The situation, however, was far more involved than the world in general was inclined to believe. It was not the future of Europe alone which was to be determined. Asia was represented in the number of questions at issue, as well as in the personnel of its delegates. Even Siam was there in the person of Prince Charoon, Minister to Paris, and Phya Bibadh Kosha, Minister to Rome. Most people were unaware of Siam's declaration of war against Germany, yet that country had its place at the Peace Table, and was asking, not for territory or indemnity, but for the restoration of complete sovereignty by the abolition of extraterritoriality [1] and of restrictions upon the tariff. India had, of course, her place, side by side with the self-governing Dominions of the British Empire. She could have had no better representatives than Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, Lord Sinha, and the Maharajah of Bikanir. Japan had such veteran statesmen as Marquis Saionji, Baron Makino, Viscount Chinda, and ambassadors Matsui and Ijuin. China was permitted only two delegates, but North and South came together amicably on the great national questions involved, and cleverly arranged that there should be four delegates present, even if only two at a time might sit in the plenary conferences. Lu Cheng-hsiang, Minister of Foreign

[1] Siam had to wait fifty-four years for her release from this disability. Japan waited over thirty years.

Affairs, and Mr. C. T. Wang represented China at the first plenary conference; Mr. Wellington Koo, Minister to the United States, and Mr. S. K. Alfred Sze, Minister to Great Britain, at the second. Mr. Koo was given an important place on the commission for drafting the Covenant of the League of Nations, and Mr. Wang was similarly honored by appointment on the commission for dealing with ports, railways, and waterways. The Chinese delegation was a unit on the programme which demanded the guaranty of Chinese sovereignty, the recognition of economic independence, and the inviolability of her territory.

Asiatic questions came up from the very beginning of the Peace Conference, for at first the only questions for which the delegates were prepared were the establishment of the League of Nations, so dear to the heart of President Wilson; the disposal of the German colonies; and the disarmament of Germany. The disposal of the German colonies in Africa being accomplished, came the discussion of what was to be done with the German possessions in the Pacific. Here was abundant opportunity for conflict of opinion. The United States was not anxious for the increase of Japanese influence in the neighborhood of the Philippines, and much preferred that Great Britain should receive the mandate for all the Pacific Islands. President Wilson suggested that the mandate should be administered by Australia. Australia still less than the United States desired Japanese contiguity. In view of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, as well as by reason of the agreement made at a critical moment during the war, Great Britain was indisposed to ignore the claims of Japan to some degree of territorial expansion. In the end everything was amicably adjusted. Japan was awarded the islands north of the equator, including the Caroline and Marshall groups and the island of Yap, valuable for strategic purposes. All south of the equator was given to Australia and New Zealand. The award included the Bismarck archipelago, New Guinea, and even the shadowy German claims in the Antarctic.

This seems the proper point for a brief reference to the All-White-Australia policy, the defense of which formed an inevitable part of the discussions of the time. It was necessary also to consider the extent to which the immigration policy of Australia was applicable to New Guinea, taken over by mandate. A recent writer[1] has observed that the policy of an All-White-Australia was long held without doctrines. Prior to the adoption of the Federal Constitution in 1900, the five Australian colonies pursued different policies. Western Australia admitted Asiatics; South Australia tried to distinguish between the northern tropical district, where Chinese coolie labor was useful, and the south, from which it was to be excluded; Queensland employed indentured labor from the South Sea Islands on the sugar plantations. But the Immigration Act, 1901–20, gathering up a number of Federal enactments, by adopting, at the suggestion of the British Colonial Minister, the "dictation test,"[2] made it possible, without reference to any nationality, to exclude any who might be considered undesirable. This policy has been effective, though discussion has arisen as to its wisdom in the interest of Australia herself. Some maintain that the policy has diminished the economic output as well as the population of Australia. Others declare that the tropical portions of the continent can never be developed apart from Asiatic labor. Others again maintain that Australia is more concerned with equal standards of living and with equal social and political status than with increase of population; that a considerable part of Australia is irreclaimable desert and unproductive; and that the large sheep and cattle ranches have no need for more laborers.

The writer referred to above sums up that, whatever its wisdom, "the policy is not based on purely selfish reasons, that it is not based on a belief in the superiority of one people to another, that it is not directed against any one nation, but

[1] See "The White Australia Policy," by "Sydney," *Foreign Affairs*, Oct. 1925.

[2] By which an officer may dictate not less than fifty words in any prescribed language, failure to write them correctly being ground for exclusion.

that it is an inextricable part of the social and political ideals of the Australian people."[1]

Up to the end of March the disposal of the German possessions in the Pacific was the only Asiatic question arising out of the war which had been settled. But much else, including some rather inflammable material, was on the table. On January 27 the Japanese delegates put in the claim to the reversion to Japan of the former German holdings in China. Apparently, before doing this, an effort was made to come to an understanding with China, and considerable pressure was brought to bear upon the Chinese delegation from Peking. There is no reason to suppose that Japan did not intend to fulfill her promise to retrocede the occupied portion of Shantung, but she desired to treat with China directly, after her right to the territory had been affirmed. The Chinese delegates, however, were ready for the fray. Mr. Koo, in a remarkably able speech, presented the Chinese case. Baron Makino immediately replied, using the notes of the secret Motono-Tuan arrangement between the two countries in 1915. Prime Minister Tuan Chi-jui, it should be remembered, was all along regarded as Japan's tool in the domination of Northern China. President Wilson suggested the laying of the notes on the table, but Makino was not willing, without further consultation with his Government, and the matter went over till April.

During this interval President Wilson had to some degree changed his mind. Both Bolshevism on the one hand and the old diplomacy on the other had become something of a nightmare to him, and he was desperately afraid of imperiling the League of Nations. The situation was all the time getting worse as between Japan and the United States, and pessimists were openly predicting war. Then came the Japanese effort to secure from the Conference the recognition of racial equality, expressed in such moderate terms that it would have been the part of wisdom to accept the resolution in view of other things to come. The Conference, with the exception of Great Britain

[1] See *Foreign Affairs*, Oct. 1925, p. 111.

and the United States, was in favor of the recognition. But President Wilson ruled that there must be unanimity, so the Japanese move failed. This failure, however, made inevitable a Japanese success on the next matter introduced, namely, the retention of Kiaochao. The British were by no means averse to seeing the defeat of Japan on the race question brought about in large measure by American influence, but they did not desire a Chinese victory over Japan gained by American-trained Chinese. Moreover, President Wilson, in gaining one victory, had lessened his chances of gaining a second. He was much worried over the possible failure of the Covenant, seeing that the Italian representative had just before walked out of the Conference. Japan had no intention of following suit, but the rumor that this might happen was noised abroad. Thus, when Baron Makino expressed amid the general sympathy of the lesser peoples his regret that the Conference had failed to accept the principle of race equality, he was at the same time preparing the ground for the rejection of China's plea. The question was a delicate one. But when the final decision as to how Versailles should deal with the Shantung affair came up, Wilson threw in his lot with the rest of the Big Four, hoping that Japan and China might yet settle the matter justly outside the Conference. It was clear that the action taken at Versailles could not be final, either for China or for Japan. American opinion ran strongly in favor of China, though it is a little difficult to separate what was sincerely pro-Chinese from what was partisan hostility — now beginning to show itself in the United States Senate — against President Wilson and the League of Nations.

CHAPTER XX

THE AFTERMATH OF THE GREAT WAR IN ASIA

Undoubtedly one of the most far-reaching pronouncements ever made was President Wilson's declaration concerning the rights of small nations to "self-determination." The expression awoke all sorts of latent aspirations, from Ireland to Korea. To follow the reverberations of the saying would be to recount most of the national history of Europe and Asia in the years between the Treaty of Versailles and the Washington Conference. Yet it may be stated with reasonable accuracy that President Wilson's saying was in one way but the expression of much that had been inarticulate among masses of men for many years.

In Asia this only half-articulate desire for self-determination turned out to be a force which occasionally got out of hand and lent itself to exploitation by visionary and unscrupulous leaders. During 1920 and 1921 the Soviet activities of Russia, assisted by such agents as Enver Pasha and others of opportunistic proclivity, made the most prodigious efforts to wage war against all the imperialistic nations by gaining control of the governments of Asia. The members of the International were glad to use any tools that came to hand — glad even to form a working partnership with one so little communistic in his leanings as Mustapha Kemal — in order to gain a victory over the Western Powers. So an organized effort was made to plan an armed expedition into India with Soviet troops, inspired by Hindu agitators and trained in Turkestan and Afghanistan. A school of propaganda was established in Samarkand, which attracted

pupils from near and far. In Persia, in Turkey, and eastward even to China, there was room everywhere for the "Red" missionary. But the campaign in the west, costly as it was to the Soviet funds, failed. The Indian expedition had to be postponed; a pro-British Persian vizier proved a fatal obstacle to their plans in the Kingdom of the Lion; and the trend of the Anatolian Government was in quite another than the Communistic direction.

It may be said here that the birth of the Anatolian Government was in large measure due to the nationalistic feeling which followed upon the Allies' award of Smyrna and Thrace to Greece. When in May 1919 a Greek force undertook the occupation of Smyrna, the spark was set to some very inflammable material. The leading spirit in the new Turkish nationalism was Kemal Pasha. The success of this individual was so instant that by August a provisional government was set up in Erzeroum,[1] pledged to the maintenance of the territorial integrity of Turkey and to the upholding of the Khalifate. Later, the centre of government was changed to Angora;[2] so Asia Minor became the new rallying-point of the Ottoman, as it had been the cradle of its dominion. Kemal made abundant use of the prevailing Pan-Islamic sentiment. From India to North Africa incentive was given to the resurgence of Moslem hope. In India the feeling even brought about — miraculous as it seemed — fraternizing between Hindu and Muhammadan. Gandhi and his Islamic "brothers"[3] represented for the nonce a common hostility against the west. The Khilafat[4] Committee, pledged to support the authority of the Sultan of Turkey as Khalif, had branches in London itself.

The Sultan, however, was for the moment only a puppet.[5]

[1] See Curtis, *Around the Black Sea*, p. 35.

[2] The ancient Ancyra, captured by the Ottoman Turks in 1360.

[3] Muhammad and Shau-kat Ali.

[4] The same as "Khalifate."

[5] After Mustapha Kemal had used the Khalifate question to his own advantage, he deposed the Sultan on November 2, 1922 and deprived the Khalif of all temporal authority; on March 3, 1923 the Khalifate was abolished by the Grand National Council at Angora, with only two dissentient votes.

Imperial edicts launched from Constantinople were quite ineffectual in checking the activities of Kemal. The Allies, too, were powerless to enforce the terms decided upon at the Treaty of Sevres, April 1920. Yet, with a Greek army present in Asia Minor and in Thrace, the Ottoman delegates found it the better part of wisdom to sign the treaty. It seemed a perfectly natural thing for Kemal at this time to make common cause with the Russian Bolshevists, without the smallest intention of reducing Turkey to the condition of her northern neighbor.

When the Soviet agents found in 1921 that they had but slight opportunity for success on the western frontier, they began to betray interest in the Far East. Very soon, too, they had reason to congratulate themselves on the result. The Omsk Government, organized by Koltchak, collapsed, as we have seen, in the fall of 1919. On its ruins there arose in the transbaikal provinces what was known as the Far Eastern Republic, with its capital at Chita.[1] It was pink rather than red in its complexion, but soon began to show an understanding with Moscow. When the Maritime Province, of which Vladivostok was the capital, revolted, the Soviet agent loudly denounced Japan as the cause, and called for the Japanese evacuation of Siberia. What is known as the Chicherin [2] Note was not satisfied with addressing a warning to Japan, but even accused Great Britain, France, and Italy of being generally responsible for the campaign against the Soviets.

Long before the settlement of the Siberian question, new complications arose during the summer of 1921 in Mongolia. Reference has been made to the turmoil created by the reactionary Cossack, Ataman Semenoff, in 1919, and of Semenoff's connection with the fall of Koltchak. The ensuing confusion seemed sufficiently promising to induce somewhat tardy intervention on the part of China. Hsu Shu-tseng ("Little Hsu") came marching to Urga with his frontier defense force, and soon procured from the khans and lamas a repudiation of any desire

[1] In Eastern Siberia, 500 miles east of Irkhutsk.
[2] Or Tchitcherin, Bolshevist agent and Foreign Minister.

for autonomy. He then went further and imprisoned the Living Buddha of Mongolia — a piece of sacrilege which sent a thrill of horror throughout Buddhist Asia. After this he inaugurated a reign of terror such as rapidly convinced the population that the Reds were no worse enemies than their former masters, the Chinese. At this juncture, "Little Hsu" was summoned home to oppose Wu Pei-fu's drive upon Peking. Events followed hard upon the heels of his departure. Almost as he went out from Urga, entered the mad Russian reactionary adventurer, Ungern-Sternberg, a former officer of Ataman Semenoff. He at once rallied the Mongols and started upon an almost indiscriminate massacre of Chinese, Jews, and Russian Reds. Urga was captured and the Chinese garrison slaughtered. Then Sternberg proceeded to the coronation of the Living Buddha as Lord Supreme over all the "Buddhist Empire of Asia."

It was but a short-lived interlude of reactionism. Soon came the forces of the Moscow Soviets, took again the much-enduring Urga, and once more a hideous massacre was perpetrated. The mad baron, whose troops were guilty of as many atrocities as they found opportunity of committing, was captured, sent to Siberia, tried, and hung.

So came into being the Red "Mongolian People's Revolutionary Soviet Republican Government," under which Russian-trained Mongols were the figures, moved largely from Moscow. Severe restrictions on foreign trade were at once introduced, and all foreign traders were expelled. This state of things brought about retaliation from the Chinese side. The Chinese placed an embargo on the frontier trade, which worked even more hardship on foreigners than the other. It was in trying to run this blockade that the American, Charles Coltman, lost his life.

The Red officials were in time replaced by officials and regular troops from Moscow, and these made a vigorous but eventually futile effort to reduce everything to the proletarian level. When this effort extended to interference with the ram's-horn headdress of the Mongolian women, opposition began to gather.

Ere long relations were reëstablished with China. Her yoke, corrupt as the administration might be, was more easily to be borne than the foreign tyranny. After the downfall of the Anfu party in China it was possible to take advantage of this changed attitude, so President Hsu Shih-chang turned Mongolia over to the Manchurian war-lord, Chang Tso-lin.

Before this, however, Russia, looking far beyond Mongolia, was seeking relations directly with China. As early as 1920 the Chinese Foreign Office received a letter from Leo Karakhan, the assistant commissar for foreign affairs in Moscow, stating the willingness of Russia to return, without compensation, all the privileges and concessions which had been wrested from the Middle Kingdom under the Czarist régime. This was so far beyond the bounds of the credible that it was not believed. Later, after the establishment of the Far Eastern Republic and the withdrawal of the American and Allied troops from Siberia, came I. L. Yurin, representative of both the Chita and Moscow governments, to repeat the assurances of Karakhan. On the strength of these assurances the Czarist diplomatic representatives, who had retained possession of the Russian office at Peking, were dismissed. In August 1922 came another Russian diplomat, Abram Adolf Joffe, one of the ablest of the Soviet agents, fresh from the Hague and the Genoa conferences, to play his part in the reëstablishment of relations. It was his rôle to represent his country as a truly Asiatic power, long beguiled by the European will-o'the-wisp to neglect her proper destiny, but now returning penitently to resume her true mission in Asia, side by side with Asiatics. He passed by the political personages and did better by cultivating the society of the intelligentsia. Then he restated the Karakhan declarations. The Chinese, still not quite convinced, asked as a proof of good faith the complete evacuation of Mongolia. The Russians countered by demanding that the white troops and other agents should not be allowed the use of the Chinese territory. At this point the negotiations stopped for the moment, and it became evident that Yurin and Joffe were engaged in playing

Japan and China one against the other, with a view to a triple understanding. To this understanding, eventually reached, we shall return in due course.

There are other threads to pick up in the meanwhile. Among the lands upon which President Wilson's pronunciamento fell as seed upon fertile and receptive soil, was the peninsula of Chosen or Korea, since 1910 an integral part of the Empire of Japan. Korea had been for long an example of a weak country imperiling the peace of the world by its willingness to substitute intrigue for self-respecting action on its own behalf. In wandering around the palace gardens where an ex-emperor of defective mentality still passes his days, or in gazing upon the empty throne in the barbarically upholstered throne room, one feels sympathy for a nation of so much past achievement now fallen on evil days. But from the time when Russia recognized Japan's "paramount political, military, and economical interest" in Korea by the Treaty of Portsmouth, there was little to be expected but incorporation into the Empire, especially as the Koreans met with sullenness and passive resistance Ito's sincere efforts to smooth their way toward prosperity.

There can be no question as to the tremendous material advance made in Korea since annexation. Mr. E. A. Powell (no Japanophile) summarizes them as follows: "The old, effete, corrupt administration was swept away. A Cabinet was formed on the model of that in Japan. An elaborate system of local government was adopted. The judiciary was reformed. A sound monetary system was established and maintained. Prisons were cleansed and modernized. The mileage of the railways was doubled. The inadequate Korean harbors were transformed into spacious ports equipped with all modern appliances. Remarkable improvement in the public health was effected by government hospitals and systems of sanitation. New waterworks were built in fourteen cities and towns. The five hundred miles of road which existed in 1910 were increased to eight thousand, it being proposed eventually to cover the

peninsula with a network of highways. New industries were introduced, nearly eight hundred factories — something hitherto unknown in the land — being established, thereby providing occupation for thousands of Koreans. Handsome and substantial public buildings were erected. Streets were extended and paved, and many parks were laid out. Primary, secondary, technical, agricultural, forestry, and other schools, as well as model farms and experimental stations, were opened. Agriculture — the mainstay of the country — was enormously developed, the Korean farmer being taught new and profitable side-lines: fruit, cotton, sugar-beets, hemp, tobacco, and silk-worm culture, and sheep-breeding. Afforestation was pushed forward on a truly astounding scale, no less than half a billion young trees being set out by the Japanese forestry service on the bare, brown hillsides. The area of cultivated land was doubled. The output of the Korean coal-mines was trebled. Cotton acreage increased by more than 4500 per cent, and salt production by more than 7000 per cent."[1]

In spite of all this — and much has been omitted — the iron of subjection entered into the soul of the people. Over 150,000 found refuge in exile, while those who stayed showed no disposition to coöperate with their benefactors.

The régime of Terauchi and of his successor, Hasegawa, was severely militaristic, and there was disposition on the part of the Koreans to see their disabilities rather than their advantages. They could complain of taxation without representation, of lack of freedom of the press, of discrimination in the matter of education, of lack of courtesy on the part of officials, of social discrimination, and the like. All this was borne more or less patiently during the years of the World War. Afterward, when hopes of the millennium were especially alive in the smaller peoples, it was deemed proper to act.

So came about the remarkable Passive Revolution of 1919, the occasion of which was the funeral of the old ex-Emperor.

[1] See E. A. Powell, *Asia at the Cross-roads;* also *The Japan Year Book*, 1924–25, ch. xxxviii.

While the Korean population of Seoul formed a huge procession of mourners, crying their *Mansei*,[1] the leaders of the movement went to the officials, reported the signing of the Korean declaration of independence, and offered themselves for prison. The authorities were taken aback, but acted with more vigor than wisdom. Probably the gendarmerie were to blame rather than the regular soldiers, but a period of suppression was inaugurated, in which both stupidity and cruelty were conspicuously in evidence. The reports of the slain during the suppression vary all the way from one to fifty thousand, though it is probable that the smaller figure is nearer the truth. The news sent out from Korea of this reign of terror created a painful impression throughout the world, and had much to do with the exacerbation of public opinion in the United States against Japan.

The Japanese authorities at Tokyo immediately perceived the mistake. Premier Hara at once obtained a rescript ordering reform to be "rushed." The officials deemed responsible were recalled, and a concession was made to the world conscience by the appointment of Admiral Baron Saito as Governor-General instead of a militarist. It was affirmed to be "the ultimate purpose of the Japanese government in due course to treat Korea as in all respects on the same footing with Japan proper." Punishment by flogging had already been abolished. New Korean newspapers were now permitted, salaries of Koreans and Japanese equalized, and discriminations removed in the management of Korean and Japanese schools. The present writer was much struck on a recent visit by the great progress made in superseding the old method of education with schools as good as or even better than those of Japan proper.[2]

So much has been written with regard to the complicity of certain missionaries with the independence movement that it seems fair to say this: Even though a number of missionaries doubtless sympathized with the national aspirations of the

[1] The same as the Japanese "Banzai," literally, "Ten thousand years!"
[2] See Report of the Government-General of Chosen.

Koreans, there was nothing in their attitude or actions which could be construed as treasonable. Mr. Kiyoshi Nakarai, of the Educational Affairs Bureau of Chosen, declares: "An accusation has been directed against the Japanese Government charging that it persecuted Korean Christians and was endeavoring to hinder Christian work in Chosen. While this accusation is wholly baseless, it is equally wrong to regard the foreign missionaries as a body as inimically disposed toward the Government."[1]

Opinions will naturally vary as to the effect of Japanese rule upon Korea, according to the point of view or the bias of the authority. One declares: "The nine years following the egregious annexation have been one of the most shameful pages in the history of the Japanese Empire." Another says: "The Government of Chosen must be pronounced a great success." If the latter assertion is not yet quite true, some share of the blame must be assigned to the Koreans themselves. They might well have gone to work in a better spirit to make things Korean better worth embodying in nationhood.

While the events mentioned were of themselves subtly influencing public opinion in the United States, there was also developing a rather remarkable disposition to favor every claim put forth by China. This disposition was in many respects quite apart from information in the possession of the country generally. Some of it was certainly due rather to the antagonism manifested toward Japan. Much of it was the result of skillfully organized propaganda. With it went in certain quarters a sincere desire to carry out promises made to China at the time of her entry into the war, by the extension of financial assistance. The best illustration of this is the effort made to organize and apply for the benefit of China the new banking consortium which was ultimately signed in New York, in October 1920.[2] Of course the Four-Power loan, as the new

[1] See *La Nouvelle Administration de la Corée* and *La Corée Contemporaine*, Paris, 1921, 1922.

[2] See article by Silas Bent, *Asia*, Nov. 1919.

consortium is sometimes called, has been variously appreciated. On the one hand it has been hailed as the beginning of a new era of altruism, the adoption of a policy of international coöperation instead of a policy of competition, the end of the "open shop in international finance." On the other hand, it has been decried, first, from the Chinese nationalist point of view, as an attempt to control China internationally instead of by the old method of piecemeal aggression; secondly, from the Japanese point of view, as generated by the American fear of Japanese financial control, as seemed possible by the war loans made by Japan prior to 1918. According to this view, it was Mr. Lansing's attempt to throw a ring round the Ishii-Lansing agreement, in order to take from that document its meaning and point.

The American Government, acting no doubt on Mr. Reinsch's [1] promise given to China when she broke with Germany, took the initiative, first by approaching the group of American bankers and then by communicating with the governments of Great Britain, France, and Japan as to their willingness to form the consortium. Great Britain, after some preliminary inquiries, accepted the American proposal on July 17, 1919. Japan stood out for certain reservations with regard to Manchuria and Mongolia, which seemed likely to revive the old sphere-of-influence doctrine. Mr. T. W. Lamont, representative of J. P. Morgan and Company, then went out to China and Japan and tackled the objections on the spot. In China he found much division of opinion, most people fearing the effect of foreign loans upon the integrity of China, and some frankly preferring the competitive system as giving them greater liberty of choice. In Japan the main fear was as to the projected policy of financial assistance threatening Japanese vested interests in Manchuria and Mongolia. On assurance being given that the scope of the consortium did not include "the vested interests nor the existing agreements as to industrial undertakings in which substantial progress can be shown to have been made, nor does it aim to invade the domain of

[1] See Reinsch, *op. cit.*

private enterprises in banking, industry, or commerce," Japan waived all objection. The agreement was signed, as noted above, on October 15, 1920.

Yet it is sad to relate that, after all the negotiations, the five years for which the consortium was planned have passed without use of the money made available. The reasons for this failure are two in number. First, the Chinese southern government was in no way disposed to see the northern government strengthened by having the disposal of money for improvements. Secondly, China was more intent upon having money for the maintenance of her army and for the furtherance of the ambitions of her war lords than for reconstruction work. As one condition of loaning the money was that the plans of the military governors or tuchüns were not to be served by the consortium, no loans were made, and one more opportunity passed away for the unification and resurrection of China.

There is during these years a strange contradiction between the anarchy and discord which reigned in China, so far as what we call politics is concerned, and the general agreement which was manifested by all parties on certain large national questions. Some of these questions loomed so large that they formed no small part of the material eventually brought before the Washington Conference.

The question of Shantung was, on the surface, the one principally relied on to gain the world's ear. In the presentation of the Shantung case to the world there was inevitably a good deal that was forced. The indignation on the matter was fostered by a great deal of propaganda. For instance, the area of the occupied district (only some 250 square miles out of 55,970) was exaggerated. The Japanese in occupation were only some 21,000 as against the 25,000,000 Chinese in the province. There was, moreover, no unwillingness on the part of the Chinese to live in the Kiaochao area. There had, of course, been no protest over the occupation of the area by Germany. Yet the feeling of China undoubtedly rose to fever heat. On this question at least, China was at one. The boycott of

Japanese goods in certain parts of the republic brought about a very menacing situation. National Shame Day, in commemoration of the signing of the Treaty of 1915, was kept with annually increasing fervor. Patriotic indignation included in its objective not only the Japanese but also the Chinese statesmen who were believed to have sold their country to Nippon. On the mere suspicion that certain officials were Japanophile, they were hounded out of office.

After all, feeling on the Shantung question was but one phase of the new Chinese irredentism. The patriotic movement, at this time largely in the hands of students, fostered a programme of the recovery of all the lost elements of sovereignty. The doctrine of spheres of influence had been largely discarded, but there were other things, sanctioned by treaty, which rankled in the Chinese bosom. There was the matter of extraterritoriality, by which all foreigners might be tried in their own courts instead of by the Chinese.[1] Since 1894 this included Japanese as well as the other nationals. After the Great War, China escaped this indignity in the case of the Central Powers, with whom separate treaties had been negotiated. Eventually also the privilege of extrality [2] was relinquished by Russia;[3] but these releases only made the more galling the retention of the privilege by the other Powers. China was not willing to acknowledge that her way of escape was the same as in the cases of Japan and Siam.[4] If only she would bring up her laws and the administration of them to the point at which foreigners could consider themselves protected, the way was

[1] Moore (*International Law*, XI, 593) defines extraterritoriality as follows: "An exemption from the operation of local law, granted either by usage or by treaty, on account of the differences in law, custom, and social habits of civilized nations from those of uncivilized nations."

[2] A new form of the term "extraterritoriality," which has at least the merit of brevity.

[3] Woodhead claims that the Russians were deprived of extraterritorial rights by the Presidential Mandate of September 23, 1920, which suspended recognition of the czarist minister and consuls. See *Occidental Interpretations of the Far Eastern Problem*, p. 90.

[4] Siam waited fifty-four years; China has already had sixty-seven years to obtain release from the disability.

easy. Even to foreigners extraterritoriality had its disadvantages. In remote districts consuls were few and far between, witnesses were hard to get, and there was no way of compelling the telling of the truth. Valid objections may also be raised on account of the complications which arise when several different nationalities and their respective legal systems are involved.[1]

Other resented breaches of sovereignty included such things as the most-favored-nation clause,[2] nearly always a one-sided arrangement, by which every foreign nation got the maximum which had been squeezed out of China by any other; the regulation of tariff by treaty,[3] which prevented the Chinese Government from getting a fair revenue from foreign imports; concessions,[4] which in some cases put the administration of certain districts into the hands of foreigners; and leased territories,[5] which were often naval bases taken forcibly from China and located at strategic points along the coast. Of course, on the other side it must be remembered that, in the matter of tariff regulation, the failure of China to abolish the vexatious transit dues, known as likin, was partly responsible. Also the administration of foreign concessions, such as those of Shanghai and Hankow, was of as much benefit to China as to the foreigners, and had made the concessions attractive to many thousands of Chinese. But these were all questions of just concern to China. She had attempted to bring them up at the Peace Table at Versailles. She was now determined to press them upon the attention and sympathy of the world in general.

There were still other matters in the air which made the calling of the Washington Conference by President Harding a wise and almost an inevitable step. Of the growing menace involved in the anti-Japanese feeling on the Pacific Coast of the United States we shall speak at some length in a later chapter. Here it need only be said that the feeling was rapidly

[1] See Bau, *Foreign Relations of China*, ch. xviii.
[2] See Bau, *op. cit.*, ch. xxii.
[3] See Bau, *op. cit.*, ch. xxiii.
[4] See Bau, *op. cit.*, ch. xix.
[5] See Bau, *op. cit.*, ch. xx.

making war between the two countries — unnecessary and even criminal as such war would have been — more or less certain. There was blended with this a strong antipathy to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, which, it was feared, might involve Great Britain in any conflict with the United States. Australasia, though from its geographical position in no way averse to the Alliance, was hostile to Japan, because fearful of any interference with the All-White-Australia policy. Beyond these fears and surmisings there was the strong conviction that civilization could not much longer stand the enormous burden of taxation resulting from policies of fear, such as made nation arm itself against nation and provoke war by preparation for it. Hence, when President Harding invited the nations interested in Pacific questions to meet at Washington in November 1921, there was a ready response from Great Britain, France, Italy, Holland, Belgium, Portugal, China, and Japan. The Conference officially was called to discuss limitation of armaments, but it was understood that Pacific problems and the problems of the Far East generally would be taken up by the delegates.

To summarize the proceedings of the Conference is not an easy task. First, on November 12 came the sensational beginning with Mr. Hughes's concrete plan for the reduction of naval armament, calling for the scrapping of a number of ships by Great Britain, Japan, and the United States. Time was needed for consideration, especially by Japan, since the recent assassination of Premier Hara had disarranged the political situation. The opinion of the public, moreover, was a little uncertain. But with the American pledge to discontinue work on the fortification of Guam and the Philippines there seemed no further reasons for holding out against the proposed ratio of 5–5–3, applied to the capital ships of the British, American, and Japanese navies. This went a long way toward removing the fear of war. Under the terms of the arrangement, neither the American nor the Japanese navy was strong enough to fight on the opposite side of the Pacific.

After the pact on naval disarmament, the next matter to

come up was the question of a treaty on Pacific subjects, such as would make unnecessary the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. The Alliance, first made January 30, 1902, by the efforts of Lord Lansdowne and Hayashi, had been of both moral and material value to Japan. This was especially the case when, at a critical moment in the Russo-Japanese War, it had been renewed on August 12, 1905. But when the third treaty of alliance was signed, July 13, 1911, there were critics inclined to fear that it might force England into conflict with the United States. The treaty indeed provided that, "should either high contracting party conclude a treaty of general arbitration with a third Power it is agreed that nothing in this agreement shall entail upon such contracting Power an obligation to go to war with that Power with whom such treaty of arbitration is in force." Unhappily, the United States Senate failed to ratify the arbitration treaty arranged between the United States and Great Britain, so the danger remained. Of course, during the war the advantages of the Alliance were obvious, but from 1919 onward criticism appeared from many sources, British, Colonial, Indian, Chinese, American, and Japanese. To replace the Alliance it was essential to have something of a broader nature. This was found at last in the pact signed on December 13, 1921, by which the United States, the British Empire, France, and Japan agreed "as between themselves to respect their rights in relation to their insular possessions and insular dominions in the region of the Pacific Ocean." The agreement also provided that, in case of aggression by any other Power, the Four Powers should consult together "as to the most efficient measures to be taken, jointly or separately, to meet the exigencies of the particular situation." The United States, in signing, made the reservation that she was not thereby committed to the awarding of the mandates accepted in the Pacific. In ratifying the treaty, the United States Senate, March 22, 1922, was anxious to make it clear that there was no commitment to alliance or to the use of armed force, offensively or defensively.

In addition to the two important matters thus settled, several other questions were brought before the Conference which require notice. There was, for instance, the question of Chinese finances. Sympathetic consideration was given to China's plight in this matter, by providing for the increase of the revenue derivable from the maritime customs, and by making possible the raising of the tariff. Demands were also advanced for the abolition of extraterritoriality, the removal of foreign troops and foreign post-offices, the complete restoration of tariff autonomy, and the abolition of leased territories. Of course much of this programme was visionary, but the setting forth of the "Bill of Rights" attracted both attention and sympathy. It even produced results, though these were much less than they would have been, had China not been at war within her own borders. The things actually achieved, in addition to the raising of the customs tariff, were the abolition of the foreign post-offices after January 1, 1922, provided that foreign control of the postal service was not disturbed; the organization of a commission to inquire into the feasibility of abolishing extraterritoriality; the removal of foreign troops, not stationed by treaty, provided that the removal could be accomplished without danger to the lives of foreigners; and the passing of sundry resolutions insisting upon the cessation of "spheres of influence," and maintaining in spirit and in letter the principle of Chinese territorial integrity.

To be included in these results — though, officially speaking, this was accomplished outside the Conference proper — was the restoration to China of the former German territory and other German rights in Shantung.

The Shantung dispute had been for a long time a danger point in Pacific politics. It was a great source of relief when it was made known that, through the sitting-in of British and American delegates with the Chinese and Japanese representatives, this thorny subject might be regarded as settled. Both China and Japan had been anxious to settle the matter by direct negotiation, especially since China had been informed that

Germany renounced in favor of Japan all rights and interests formerly hers under the agreement of 1898. Pride and some sentiment had hitherto kept the two nations apart, and a settlement had not become easier with the lapse of time. At the very first meeting of the delegates to discuss the matter, on December 2, 1921, it was plain that the opportunity was ripe. Japan was ready to return the leased territory to China, asking only the opening of the same to foreign trade. She did not even ask to establish an international settlement in Tsingtao. She was also ready to permit the consortium to apply to the three new railway lines already begun in the province, and to turn over the Tsingtao customs as an integral part of the Maritime Customs organization. She promised also to remove the soldiers guarding the Tsinan Railway as soon as China was able to take over the policing, and to restore all property in the territory which had been used for administrative purposes. The one difficulty which seemed to threaten deadlock was the question of the disposal of the Kiaochao-Tsinan Railway, 250 miles in length, which under Japanese administration had been highly profitable. Japan was willing to give China the absolute ownership of the railway, but wanted to be in a position to ensure the continuance of efficient management. China wanted to buy the line and pay cash for it, but this the Japanese knew could only mean the mortgaging of the railway to foreign financiers in return for a loan, so Japan would lose the line and China still be as far as ever from real ownership. The matter was settled at last, much credit being due to Mr. Hughes and Mr. Balfour, as well as to the delegates of the two nations concerned, by China undertaking to buy the railway from Japan on the security of treasury notes running for fifteen years but redeemable at China's option after five. Till the notes were redeemed Japan would appoint the traffic manager and another Japanese would be chief accountant, with a Chinese chief accountant possessing coördinate functions. These officials were to be under the direction and control of the Chinese managing director and removable for cause. Both China and Japan

thoroughly deserved the congratulations which were showered upon their representatives when the treaty was signed on February 1, 1922.

The list of accomplishments at the Washington Conference is not yet complete. Among the uninvited delegates to the Conference were representatives from the Far Eastern Republic, having its headquarters at Chita. These had come to complain of the Japanese occupation of portions of Siberia and of the northern part of Sakhalin. The Conference disposed of this matter by accepting the Japanese assurance that no exclusive exploitation of the resources of these territories was being sought, and that troops would be withdrawn at the earliest possible moment.

Other matters of interest are as follows: Mr. Balfour's declaration that the lease of Wei-hai-wei[1] would be relinquished as soon as the proper negotiations could be carried through was received with general pleasure.[2] Of special interest to the United States was the reference in the Treaty of February 11, 1922 to the island of Yap.[3] While the mandate awarding the former German possessions in the Pacific north of the equator to Japan was accepted, it was required that Japan should respect existing treaties with regard to the islands between the United States and Japan. It was specially provided that the United States should have free access to the island of Yap in all that related to the landing and operation of the Yap-Guam cable, or any cable which might hereafter be laid or operated by the United States connecting with the island of Yap.

Other questions were dealt with and interesting resolutions passed, but we must content ourselves with the summary given. Some of the things done were somewhat diminished afterward in the process of carrying them into effect. At the time, however, there was general optimism and intense thankfulness that

[1] See *The China Year Book* for 1923, pp. 992–3.

[2] The agreement to retrocede Wei-hai-wei was signed in May 1923, on certain conditions. But Peking demanded modification of these conditions, with the result that negotiations have been since suspended.

[3] See article by John Foord, *Asia*, vol. XX, No. 6.

it had been the privilege of our own Government to summon and carry through a meeting that swept away so many and such thick clouds of suspicion and misunderstanding, and that laid the foundations for a new era of peace and good-will. America in a measure recovered the moral leadership of the world which she had lost two or three years before.

CHAPTER XXI

EUROPEAN INTERESTS IN ASIA TO-DAY

GREAT as were the accomplishments of the Washington Conference, it would have been too much to expect from it the creation of an entirely new Asia. It will be useful, in the light of the preceding chapter, to make some kind of rough survey, showing the extent to which foreign influence in Asia still survives a remarkable piece of idealistic international legislation. In this chapter we shall consider only the surviving interests of Europe in the continent and its adjacent archipelagoes. In the next chapter there will be a similar survey of the relations with Asia of the United States.

In some ways it has been made clear that the old imperialistic policy by which Asia was made the happy hunting-ground of European political exploitation is curbed. This is partly due to the Great War and partly to the negotiations which followed. For example, prior to the war, Germany's mailed fist was very evident in Oriental politics from Asiatic Turkey and Persia to Shantung. The ambition of the Teuton was but slightly concealed from the world's chancelleries. Now, for the time being, Germany is cancelled from consideration in Asia by the return to China, through Japan, of the Shantung lease, and by the destruction, through Britain, of the Berlin-Bagdad plan. Yet it would be the most serious of mistakes to rule out the influence of Germany from the Orient in the future. In China especially the Germans are liked; their professors are welcomed at Chinese seats of learning;[1] they take infinite pains to under-

[1] See Hans and Margarete Driesch, *Fern-Ost.*

stand China's commercial needs; in consequence, German trade is rapidly picking up.

Russia too, though unrepresented at Washington among the Pacific Powers, is to be reckoned with both now and increasingly in the immediate future. The Soviets have reëstablished Muscovite influence in the East in the most remarkable way. "The Soviets to-day occupy all the territory in Siberia within the boundaries of the former Russian Empire, and in addition they have a firm hold on Mongolia. The Chinese East is once more in their grasp, carrying the products of Siberia and Manchuria to Vladivostok, which is again a Russian port."[1] Beyond this, agents are alert in every part of the continent, even in the Dutch Indies. No Power is so active in the cause of Pan-Asianism. One need only — picking up the story of Joffe's visit to China in 1922 — recall how the same able agent of Bolshevism visited Baron Goto (then mayor of Tokyo) at Tokyo early in 1923. After a not wholly unfruitful stay, he passed on to Shanghai to make a thorough convert of Sun Yat-sen to the principles of Asiatic independence. When Karakhan came as Joffe's successor, with the formidable title of Ambassador of the United Federation of Socialist Soviet Republics in the Far East, he came fortified with the recognition of the British Labor Cabinet. Then, negotiating with Dr. C. T. Wang, who had been placed in charge of the Chinese discussions with Russia, he brought about the preliminary agreement of March 1924. Foreign Minister Wellington Koo, who is said to have had a private feud with Wang, repudiated the arrangement. Yet even he, after some display of bravado, recommenced the negotiations, and on May 31, 1924 the signing of the treaty and the resumption of relations with Russia were announced together. This treaty is very important in itself, since Russia thereby relinquished extraterritoriality and all other interference with Chinese sovereignty. Yet there was certainly a *quid pro quo*, particularly in enhanced prestige. As

[1] H. K. Norton, quoted in *North China Herald*, Aug. 22, 1925; see also "Political Rights in the Arctic," *Foreign Affairs*, Oct. 1925.

to the complicated question of the Chinese Eastern Railway, Russia recognized the political sovereignty of China over the territory through which the railway passed, while holding to her own economic ownership and arranging for joint management of the lines. It should be added that Karakhan's success was rewarded by his appointment as the first minister to Peking with the title of Ambassador, thus outranking all other diplomats at the Chinese capital. Japan at once followed suit by giving to its minister, Mr. Obata, the same distinction. The United States so far has failed to do the like, although as long ago as March 1921 Congressman Stephen Porter had tried to secure the higher title for the representative of America.

Having secured coöperation between Russia and China, Karakhan turned his attention to Japan. His negotiations with Mr. Yoshizawa in Peking culminated in the important treaty of January 1925. In 1924 civil war seemed imminent between the forces of Chang Tso-lin and Wu Pei-fu, and the Russians were nervous lest Chang's victory should lead to Japanese domination of China; so the Soviet emissaries, working with great skill and exercising an influence which the rest of the diplomatic corps may well have envied, began to cultivate an understanding with Japan. At the same time they were encouraging the *coup* of General Fêng and his adviser, C. T. Wang, for the elimination of Wu. The result was the elevation of the pro-Japanese Tuan Chi-jui to the executive position. Foreign opinion scents in the double understanding thus achieved a new triple alliance in the Far East, with Russia engineering a combination against the "imperialistic" nations. China's difficulty at present is to reconcile her Russian commitments with her relation to Japan. Of this there will be something to say hereafter, in connection with Goto's visit to Moscow.

Portugal was present at the Washington Conference rather as the shadow of a great name than as an actual present-day influence. Imagination must have run back to the time when her chivalry went forth to find wealth, to transplant the

Christian faith, and to seek romance. To-day Portugal in Asia recalls, not the great Viceroys of the Indies, but in India the mouldering ruins of Goa, Damaun, and Diu, and in China the vice-infested little peninsula of Macao, between the Canton River and the Si Kiang. To-day in Goa there is little but a memory, not all as fragrant as the memory of Saint Francis Xavier, who labored there in 1542. Once men talked of Goa Dourada and quoted the proverb, "He who has seen Goa need not see Lisbon," but now "the harbor shelters only an occasional ship. The streets are grass-grown. The once majestic churches are piles of hopeless ruins." As for Macao, with the illusion of its yellow walls and its blue waters, it is but a festering sore in the Orient. Occupied since 1557, it was only in 1849 that the Portuguese ceased to pay ground rent for the privilege, and it was not till 1887 that the Portuguese made their first treaty with the Chinese. Even to-day, though attempts at delimitation were made in 1901, 1904, and 1909, there is no certainty as to the limits of Portuguese sovereignty. Like Goa, the place is but a memory, the memory of Saint Francis, of Camoens, — the singer of *The Lusiads*, whose bust stands in the grotto where he wrote, — and of Robert Morrison, the first Protestant missionary to China, whose dust reposes in the little, square, high-walled cemetery. As to the political obligations of Portugal in Macao, they extend merely to a pledge never to alienate the territory without China's consent, and to coöperate with China in the regulation of the opium trade.

In the case of Holland we have a much larger influence to appraise. The Dutch East Indies, known also as Insulinde, include territories between Malaysia and Australia, namely, the Greater Sunda Islands, comprising Sumatra, Borneo (excepting British Borneo), Java, and the Celebes; the Lesser Sunda Islands, comprising Bali, Lombok, Sumbawa, Sumba, Selor islands, Weber, and Timor (excepting that portion belonging to Portugal); the Moluccas or Spice Islands; and Dutch New Guinea. The total area is about 587,000 square miles. Most of the islands are affected by earthquakes and

some are volcanic. The climate is hot and the fauna and flora are varied and extensive. The population is about 47,000,000, of whom 35,000,000 are in Java. The racial mixture is remarkable, there being, in addition to the native Malay (proper) and Javanese and Papuan stocks, large numbers of Arabs, Chinese, Japanese, and Indians from Southern India. There is a similar jostling of creeds. Hinduism, Buddhism, Muhammadanism, and Christianity all have their followers. There are only 110,000 Hollanders and a few hundred Americans.

The history of the islands has already been touched upon, and but a brief further notice is necessary. While the Dutch got their spices from Lisbon they were not concerned about sending their own ships to the Orient. But after the closing of the port of Lisbon in 1587 there was an instant desire to join in what had proved for the Portuguese a very lucrative trade. To avoid their rivals, the Dutchmen first attempted the Northwest Passage, but, this failing, Houtman conducted an expedition round the Cape of Good Hope. In 1602 the Dutch East India Company was formed for the double purpose of winning wealth in the Far East and of fighting the battle of independence against Spain and Portugal. In both these aims Holland had large success till the dissolution of the Company in 1798, though she suffered at the same time from the rivalry of French and English. From 1811 till after the Treaty of Vienna in 1816 Java was in the possession of the English. "Slowly but surely there was built up in these Far Eastern islands a wonderful structure of government, which to-day is second to no other colonial administration in the world."[1] This building-up had many periods of transition, such as in the passing from the old cultivation system to a system making larger use of private enterprise. Trouble, too, was frequently experienced with certain native tribes, particularly with the Achinese,[2] a fanatical race of warlike brigands in the north of Sumatra.

[1] Torchiana, *Tropical Holland.*

[2] A people in Sumatra of mixed Malay, Hindu, and Arab blood, at war with the Dutch almost continuously since 1873; see Snouck Hurgronje, *De Atjehers.*

Insulinde is governed by the Netherlands States-General through a Minister of Colonies, and by a Governor-General appointed by the Crown. Since 1916 some beginning has been made with representative government, by means of a Volksraad or People's Council, including native, foreign, Oriental, and Dutch members. Some of these are appointed by the Governor-General and some elected by the local assemblies. For administrative purposes there are governors, residents, and regents, some of whom are native, specially trained for their work. In the native states and sultanates the native ruler takes rank next to the governor or resident. In judiciary matters the Netherlands criminal code is in force, but in civil matters customary law is often observed. Among the various courts is an ecclesiastical court which deals with marriage, divorce, guardianship, and inheritance. Education has hitherto been neglected, and the nearest approach to a university is the technical school in Java. Matters in this respect are on the mend and there are now over 600,000 children in Java attending the primary schools, but the great need is for manual training rather than for education along too exclusively academic lines. Salt is a government monopoly and the opium traffic is regulated instead of being suppressed. No opium may be manufactured or sold without the authority of the government. Great need exists for the diverting of the surplus inhabitants from Java, where the population is 710 to the square mile, to Sumatra, where it is only 35. This winning of the west is enlisting the attention of the government. Since 1878 there has been rapid advance in railway construction, also in the development of roads, forests, telegraphs, telephones, and tramways. Trade is growing rapidly. In 1918 (the last year of the war) 112,900 ships arrived in the harbors and roadsteads of the islands. Trade with the United States is being developed largely by means of the Robert Dollar Line from San Francisco. The main industries are in the production of sugar, tobacco, quinine, tea, petroleum, and rubber. About 90 per cent of the natives are farmers.

As to the future there are various opinions. There is discontent here, as elsewhere. Those who call themselves Liberals are agitating for a larger measure of autonomy, less interference by the mother country, and better social conditions for the natives. Others believe that the present paternalistic government, which refuses to thrust upon the natives the complicated system of Western democracy, is best for the islands, and that the weakening of the present white dominance would bring to speedy ruin all that has been achieved. At any rate the city of Batavia, with its population of 24,000, and the residence city of Weltevreden (well-satisfied), half an hour's journey inland, give one a "broad-based respect for the efficiency of these sturdy Dutch settlers who in type and time so nearly resembled the men who laid the foundations of our American New York."

Turning to the subject of France in Asia, there comes to mind the fact that once upon a time nearly all Europeans were called Franks, from the Levant to China. This suggests that France has exercised a larger influence than a mere list of her Asiatic possessions might seem to imply. Some of these possessions, it is true, speak of little else but a glorious past. For instance, in India, the names of Pondicherry and two or three other French settlements on the Coromandel coast take us back to the memorable struggle in which the genius of Dupleix yielded to the superior military skill of Clive. The Shropshire shop-boy, coming out to India in 1725, ended the dream of a great French Oriental empire and built up an empire for England in its stead. The French East India Company did not survive by more than three years the recall of Lally. After 1763 it had many vicissitudes. Pondicherry was taken more than once by the English and only finally restored to France in 1816. There is still a considerable trade with the mother country, but the city itself is small, with less than 30,000 residents.

In China France has always played an important rôle, as may be gathered from some of the earlier chapters. As defender

of the Roman Catholic missions and missionaries, France has always been a power to be reckoned with in China. Among the French missionaries from the sixteenth century downward are to be found some of the most distinguished benefactors of the Celestial Empire and some of the greatest scholars to whom we are indebted for our knowledge of things Chinese. The French sphere of influence in China has been generally regarded as the southwest, on the borders of Tonking. France has one port off the coast of Kwangtung, namely, Kwang-chou-wan, leased during the general scramble which preceded the Boxer revolt. At the Washington Conference a guarded promise was made to restore this port to China, on the terms: if and when Great Britain restores the port of Wei-hai-wei. France's interests in China have been generally political rather than commercial. But she has a share in the Concessions, as at Shanghai, the main interest in the Yunnan Railway, and the general control of the Postal system. The most recent Franco-Chinese difficulty, holding back the signing of the Four-Power Pact, was the gold-franc controversy, now happily settled.

The most important Asiatic interests of France are in French Indo-China, which includes the protectorates of Annam, Tonking, and Cambodia, together with the colony of Cochin China and part of the Laos country. The population includes five separate peoples who are generally spoken of as Annamese, Khmers or Cambodians, Chams of South Annam, Thais, including the Laos tribes, and Mois (Khas) or savages. The story of French relations with these territories goes back to the treaty with the King of Annam in 1787, and includes the settlement of a dispute (in 1862), which enabled France to attach three provinces of Cochin China; the annexation of three remaining provinces in 1867; the unsatisfactory and desultory campaigns, as futile as foolish, which came between 1884 and 1891; and the successful career of M. de Lanesan from 1891 onward. Later came disagreements with Siam and with Great Britain over the French relations with Siam. Eventually these were disposed of by the Franco-Siamese

treaty of 1904. It may be added that French Indo-China, which was once governed from the Department of Marine, is now controlled by a Governor-General responsible to the Minister for the Colonies. Education is backward, but commerce is very considerable, both by sea from Saigon, the chief port and capital of Cochin China, and by way of the interior through the Chinese province of Yunnan. On the whole it may be said that the French colonial administration in South-eastern Asia has not been a great success. As Bancroft puts it: "French colonies are expensively administered by incompetent officials, are noncommercial, and conducted at a loss."[1] The 22,000 square miles of French Indo-China, lying wholly within the tropics, are in no way suitable for white colonization.

What is to be said of the French possessions in the Pacific? They may be grouped as belonging either to the Eastern or to the Western Pacific. In the Eastern Pacific the principal archipelagoes are those of the Society Islands, with the chief island, Tahiti, and the Marquesas. Both of these groups are inhabited by pure Polynesians. In Tahiti, which became a French colony on the abdication of Pomare V in 1880, the seat of government is Papiete. In the Western Pacific we have the New Hebrides, governed jointly by British and French, and the island of New Caledonia, about 250 miles long. Until 1898 New Caledonia was a French convict station. The inhabitants of the New Hebrides are Melanesians and those of New Caledonia are Melanesians of mixed blood. There is some trade in copra, coffee, maize, and bananas, but on the whole the French colonies in the Pacific are not very remunerative.

Before passing from the subject of France in Asia we must recall the fact that the French mandate over Syria is the fulfillment of an old dream. Whether France will be able to govern the mandated territory in a manner satisfactory both at home and to the Syrians seems at present very doubtful. The Sultan of the Druses, Atrash Pasha, put up a spirited fight against the French, which brought about the danger of

[1] See Bancroft, *The New Pacific*.

a general revolt. The Pasha makes the following demands: "We want our own free Parliament, our national army, our national Government, and our King or President as head of the State. The French must be satisfied, like the English in Iraq, to function only as advisers."

Early in November 1925 General Sarrail, the High Commissioner under the mandate, felt himself obliged to function in an entirely different way. The bombardment of Damascus was, from every point of view, a regrettably drastic and unfortunate proceeding. The partial ruin of "the rose-red city, half as old as Time," with the loss of life entailed, made a bad impression on the world. The High Commissioner was recalled and has been succeeded by Henri de Jouvenel, who has announced as his policy "to work with the League of Nations and to bring to Syria full independence at the soonest possible moment." To the Druses who, acting in collusion with considerable bodies of Arabs, were threatening the territory north of Damascus, the new Commissioner proclaims, "Peace to those who want peace, war to those who want war." It remains to be seen how far a more tactful policy will avail to pacify these fierce Syrian mountaineers, as fanatical in their devotion to their independence as in the tenacity with which they hold the Shiite faith. But at present the balance rather inclines to an understanding.

For the rest of this chapter we must touch upon certain phases of the many problems arising from the relations to Asiatic countries of Great Britain, the solution of which is as necessary to the peace of Asia and the world as to the future of the British Empire.

In China these problems are not much more serious than those of other nations. The trade interests of England are still dominant, and an Englishman still heads the complex organization of the Chinese maritime customs.[1] But Japanese

[1] Great Britain has an interest in the most important Chinese Railways, concessions at Amoy, Canton, Hankow, Kiukiang, Chinkiang, Tientsin, and Newchang, with a large influence in the International Settlement at Shanghai.

business is likely to run a close second. Germany, when she recovers from the war, will be, as of old, a formidable competitor. The United States has not yet got her full stride in Oriental trade. The Gibraltar of Great Britain in China is at Hongkong, which in less than a century has been transformed from a pirate-ridden rock into one of the world's four great ports. The island is only twenty-nine square miles in area, but has a population one tenth as large as that of Australia. Viewing Hongkong with all its beauty and its solidity, one does not feel it strange that from this outpost of Britain in Asia influences radiate all over China, to Canton, to Shanghai, up the Yang-tze, and to the capital itself.

It is natural to find a link between the British interests in China and those in India and Tibet. Nominally still part of the Chinese dominions, Tibet is now practically autonomous, while acknowledging certain conditions imposed by the Indian Government. In 1910 the Dalai Lama fled to India and was deposed by his suzerain, the Chinese Emperor. The British Government intervened, and peace was reëstablished with the restoration of Chinese overlordship. Then came the Revolution of 1911 in China, and from that time there was practically a state of anarchy. The provinces of Szechuan and Yunnan took one course and the Peking Government another. A tripartite agreement was urged by the British and renewed in 1913 after the Dalai Lama had proclaimed the independence of his country. Suggestions for the creation of an Inner and an Outer Tibet, the latter only to acknowledge Chinese suzerainty, came to a deadlock. Since 1918 further progress with the negotiations has been impossible on account of the civil discord in China itself. As one consequence of China's failure, English influence is now predominant in Tibet.

Coming to India, we confront a situation which may be said to mark a crux in the relations of Asia with the outside world. In one way this situation is complimentary to the success which Britain has achieved in giving to India a sense of national unity and a keener aspiration for the liberty which is as the breath of

life to Western peoples. On the other hand, there are still the questions as to how far the present nationalism would stand the test of the withdrawal of white supremacy, and as to how far the millions of low-caste people and the "untouchables" would consider themselves safe under the control of the upper-class intelligentsia. The teachings of Gandhi show clearly enough that the imposition of a Western-made brand of democracy is no panacea for the ills of India. They show also that Western education by itself fails to give the stability of character which is much more desirable than the attainment of certain academic standards. To some the situation is hopeless because of the weakening of the strong hand of British militarism. To these India is already "the lost dominion."[1] To others the outlook is hopeful, even with its discontent and with the agitation for things only half comprehended. If in many respects the situation seems worse than before the war, and if each reform appears only so much drugged concession to postpone disaster, it should be remembered that the prestige of the white man everywhere suffered terribly during the war, and will be built up but slowly by the exercise of patience and wisdom such as the race has never so much needed as now. The fairest statement one can think of, with which to sum up the matter in a sentence or two, is in the words of Sir Valentine Chirol: "The critical period of transition in India, which was precipitated by the Great War, may prove longer and more difficult than was anticipated when India received five years ago her great constitutional charter, and the relatively small but undeniably influential class of Indians upon whom it conferred unprecedented constitutional powers have been slower to learn how to exercise them constitutionally. But it is all part of the great experiment upon which Britain entered a hundred years ago when she gave Western education to India, and she owes it not only to herself but to the Indians, and even to those who now revile her, to go through with it. For upon the success or

[1] See *The Lost Dominion*, by A. C. Carthill (*pseud.*), 1924; also *India as I Knew It*, by Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

failure of an experiment conducted on so vast a scale, involving the future of a great sub-continent inhabited by nearly a fifth of the human race, depends more than anything else in the Orient the peaceful readjustment of its relations with the Occident." [1]

To this we may add words which are almost in the nature of a dying testament from a sincere nationalist who has recently passed away, Sir Surendranath Banerjea: "Move on we must . . . and in this onward journey assimilate from all sides into our character, our culture, and our civilization whatever is suited to our genius and is calculated to strengthen and invigorate it, and to weave it into the texture of our national life. Thus coöperation and not non-coöperation, association and not isolation, must be a living and growing factor in the evolution of our people. Any other policy would be suicidal. That is my message to my fellow countrymen, delivered not in haste or in impatience, but as the mature result of my deliberations and of my lifelong labors in the service of the Motherland." [2]

Since the island of Ceylon is a Crown Colony and not under the Indian Government, it may be necessary to mention here the new constitution granted by letters patent in 1910, whereby the island was put under a governor, an executive council, and a legislative council. This constitution was amended in 1920 in the direction of giving more local control. In Ceylon there are some 7000 Europeans to over 4,000,000 Sinhalese and Tamils.

Burmah is part of British India and needs no further reference.

Farther south in the same peninsula we have a very interesting group of native Malay states under British protectorate, which call for some notice. Some of these, such as Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan, and Pahang, form what are called the Federated States. Others, including Johore, Kelantan, Trengganu (ceded by Siam), Kedah, and Perlis, are the Non-

[1] See Chirol, *op. cit.*

[2] See *A Nation in Making*, Sir Surendranath Banerjea, 1925.

federated States. All these, under British suzerainty, are making reasonable progress.

Just off the mainland is the Crown Colony of the Straits Settlements, consisting of the island of Singapore, Malacca, the Dindings, Penang (Prince of Wales Island), and Province Wellesley. The most important of these is Singapore, which owes its greatness to the statesmanship of that masterful genius, Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles,[1] one of the empire-builders of the East. Raffles went out as a young man to Penang in 1805, picked up Malay in a few months, became Lieutenant-Governor of Java during the British occupation of 1811, and later negotiated the purchase of Singapore from the Sultan of Johore in 1819. On leaving Singapore, he lost by shipwreck all the vast collections made in the East, but his statue in Westminster Abbey attests the enduring place he won in the esteem of his countrymen.

Singapore is now much to the front as the site of a great projected naval base for the British in the Orient. The scheme, temporarily shelved by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's Labor Government, is now again a matter of practical politics. There is insistent demand from Australasia for such a base, not merely because of the protection afforded by a fleet some hundreds of miles nearer than Hongkong to the Dominions, but also because of the importance of Singapore itself as the great entrepôt of Southern Asia and the Indian Archipelago. Criticisms so far have been of three classes: financial, strategic, and political. To the first the defenders of the scheme reply that as insurance the cost is a cheap form of investment. The strategist critics declare that the day of battleships is gone by. The political critics regard the move as provocative to Japan. It should be noted that the fortification of Singapore was purposely kept outside the scope of the Washington Conference. Some have considered the Singapore naval-base question as linked up with the All-White-Australia policy to which allusion has already been made. Australians reply with justice that

[1] 1781–1826; see D. C. Boulger's *Sir Stamford Raffles*, 1897.

the base will be of much more value to the Empire than to any one of the Dominions.[1]

Before coming to the discussion of Australasian problems, we may note the territory of British Borneo. Borneo is a huge island over 800 miles long, which is divided into Dutch Borneo (much the largest part), British North Borneo, Brunei (a Malayan sultanate under British protection), and Sarawak, a British protectorate ruled as a separate state by Rajah Brooke. The story of Sarawak and the Brookes is one of the genuine romances of the East. James Brooke [2] at the age of sixteen ran away from school and became a soldier in Bengal. From that time he always heard the East a-calling. In 1838 he landed at Sarawak, suppressed a native insurrection, and received out of the gratitude of the rajah the offer of the government. This he accepted, and he soon gained the respect even of the fierce head-hunting Dayaks. He introduced such simple reforms as were suited to the people, abolished forced labor, suppressed piracy, and dealt out justice in person. On his return to England he was highly honored and made British Commissioner and Governor of Labuan, which had recently been ceded by the Sultan of Brunei. He was succeeded as rajah by his nephew, under whom the territory — some 28,000 square miles — flourished exceedingly. The second white rajah died in 1907 and was succeeded by his eldest son. The episode of Sarawak is a notable example of what just and sympathetic white government may achieve in the East.

The new Australasia, by which is meant chiefly Australia and New Zealand, faces to-day problems both internal and external.

Australia has been a Federation for some years, but there is still so little welding together of the States that the railway gauges passing from one to another do not always correspond, and the authorities apparently are not overanxious that they should. The ideals of Australia are strongly British. The majority of the colonists, subsequently to the convict era, had

[1] See London *Times*, July 2, 1925, p. 11.

[2] 1803–68; see Spenser St. John's *Life of Sir James Brooke*, 1879.

in coming almost the sole object of transplanting the old customs in a new clime. Thus the population to-day is 98 per cent British, and the All-White policy might almost equally well be stated as the All-British policy. Yet the Australian has something of the Continental in him too. Mr. Greenbie[1] has described him as a compromise between the Englishman and the American. It seems probable that the tendency to view certain problems from an American angle will increase. Australia is, unfortunately, not making rapid progress in population. With the range of a whole continent, "barely the fringe of it scratched," with no fear of encroaching upon a large native population, the inhabitants of Australia are found gathered into a few large cities. The question as to whether the Dominion is wise in clinging to its present policy of excluding Oriental labor is debatable, but as we saw in the last chapter, Australia is practically a unit on the subject. In any case, the country is prosperous and able to afford an unusual measure of comfort to individuals. It may be regarded also as certain that she will exercise in the future more and more influence upon the Pacific policy of the British Empire. As to her foreign policy, two main elements are discernible: first, attachment to the mother country, and secondly, fear of Oriental imperialism. The former is strengthened by the felt need of leaning for support upon the British navy; the latter has determined Australian opposition to the acquisition of the former German claims by Japan. To-day there are some signs of looking to the American navy as well. Australia is at present a self-conscious community, with some pride in her independence, but just a little fear — by no means craven — of the consequences of her greatness.

New Zealand is much more insular, psychologically as well as physically, than Australia. Her sympathy with the old country has been kept warm by the life and work of an unusual number of very able men, of whom Sir George Grey,[2] Bishop

[1] See Greenbie, *The Pacific Triangle.*
[2] 1812–98; see Rees's *Life and Times of Sir George Grey.*

Selwyn,[1] Godley,[2] and Seddon[3] may be regarded as types. The General Assembly of the colony was not set up till 1854. During the years that followed things were kept back by trouble with the natives. The Maori War debt hampered the colony for many years after "the fire in the fern" had been extinguished. The provincial system lasted only from 1853 to 1876, after which came a boom with a severe economic crisis in its wake. The invention of the refrigerating process for shipping meat proved a great boon to the islands, and a new era was inaugurated about 1880. The advent of the Liberal Labor Party made of New Zealand an economic laboratory, and many bold legislative experiments were tried in the next years. The return of prosperity was most felt after 1895, when all the world discovered its need of New Zealand products. As the "Empire dairy-farm," New Zealand became famous.[4] As a Dominion, "equal in status if not in stature," New Zealand soon became ready for the new responsibilities in the Pacific, which commenced with the administration of the Cook Islands in 1901. In some ways, with her advanced legislation on social subjects, her well-cared-for babies, her huge droves of sheep, and her cattle upon a thousand hills, she may seem to be a little self-sufficient. But her attachment to the motherland is even more obvious than that of Australia, though the world is not likely to forget the heroism of all the Anzacs alike in the Great War. New Zealand has not the problems of Australia, though the native question is more to the fore. New Zealand has been aptly described as the point where the lines of interest in the native people of the Pacific and those of the efforts of the white men intersect. The Maoris are increasing, but not rapidly, with some members of the race rising to educational and political distinction.

The future of the native races all over the Pacific is quite

[1] 1809–78; see *Life* by G. H. Curteis, 1889.
[2] See Condliffe, *History of New Zealand.*
[3] 1845–1906; see *Life* by J. Drummond, 1907.
[4] See Condliffe, *op. cit.*

problematical. The counter invasion of the Pacific by the white man has had, on the whole, a destructive and demoralizing influence on the natives. Even in the Fijis, where the appearance of the native constabulary has elicited the admiration of travelers, it seems likely that the importation of indentured coolie-labor from India may spell eventually the disappearance of the native race; but of course there are ameliorative and even regenerative influences at work. Provided the fruits of these appear before the season of fruit is over, all may yet be well. It may be said at present that the whole Pacific, from Hawaii to Malaysia, is a vast experiment-station, in which all the world should be interested and concerned.

In concluding this chapter, it is necessary to make some reference to the two territories in Western Asia for which Great Britain has accepted a mandate from the League of Nations. The first of these, Iraq, presents several problems for statesmanship to solve. These include the particular measure of self-government permitted to the people, and the time and manner of the British withdrawal. The mandate was formally given only in 1922, but for several years prior to this date Great Britain was putting into operation the administrative machinery in preparation for the promised self-government. Feisal, son of the King of Hedjaz, was made King, and the ultimate independence of the whole region was guaranteed by treaty. Some difficulty has arisen concerning the proper frontier of the province of Mosul, which was awarded to Turkey by the Treaty of Lausanne. The Mosul boundary between Turkey and Iraq was provisionally drawn by the Council of the League of Nations in 1924. This was to give time for a special commission to report. The commission reported, recommending the retention of the tentative frontier, provided that Great Britain agreed to extend her mandate for twenty-five years and to guarantee self-government to the Kurdish population.[1] Turkey, however, demanded settlement

[1] See *Foreign Affairs*, Oct. 1925, p. 160; also *Mosul and Its Minorities*, by Harry Charles-Luke.

by a plebiscite, unwilling to accept the decision of the League Council. But the Council of the League of Nations has given its decision unanimously in favor of Iraq and against the claims of the Angora Government. Thus Mosul is made part of the British mandate and Great Britain is requested to maintain the mandate for twenty-five years. The Turkish representatives, however, have declared that they refuse to accept any decision which robs them of Mosul. Pessimists have predicted war, but it is far more likely that Great Britain and Turkey will get together on the subject and find some mutually acceptable compromise. If the British mandate is not extended, then in four years Great Britain intends to withdraw the army of occupation and entrust to the Arabs their free political destiny. Some have suggested that the oil deposits of Mesopotamia are to Great Britain too important to make this evacuation likely. Sir Valentine Chirol declares: "The question of oil, of which the district of Mosul is reputed to contain large undeveloped supplies, has added a new economic factor to the issue, though I believe it has never played the decisive part which some publicists, more especially on this [the American] side of the Atlantic, are apt to ascribe to it." [1]

While Syria proper was awarded to France by the League, the southern part, which we call Palestine, was at the same time committed to the care of Great Britain. Had the United States been willing, it is probable that the whole of Syria, including Palestine, would have become an American charge, in accord with the desire of the native populations. Since this responsibility was not congenial to the American Government, the division mentioned above was the only possible one. The Palestinian situation was from the first complicated by the Balfour Declaration, which offered the liberated Palestine as a homeland for the Jews, though it was expressly stated that "nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in another

[1] Chirol, *op. cit.*

country." The result has been unfortunate, since the prominence given to Zionism became a sore offense to the Moslem and Christian populations of the land. The British High Commissioner, Sir Herbert Samuel,[1] himself a Jew, handled the whole situation with discretion and tact, but the outcome is not yet clear. Zionism has not yet proved to the world its ability to make good, and the Arabs, as shown by the hostile demonstrations against Lord Balfour on his recent visit to Syria, have by no means as yet manifested any willingness to be conciliated.

[1] Sir Herbert Samuel resigned as High Commissioner in August 1925 and has been succeeded by Lord Plumer.

CHAPTER XXII

THE UNITED STATES AND ASIA

In the early days of the American Republic it is probable that George Washington as little contemplated entanglements in Asia as in Europe. So far as Asia in general is concerned, most Americans probably are scarcely more apprehensive to-day. It was in accordance with such a view that the United States proved quite unresponsive to the suggestion that she might fittingly accept a mandate for the government of Syria, or of Palestine, or at least of Armenia.

Yet, even before we had a Pacific coast-line, our ships were in touch with China. No sooner was Hawaii discovered than the vessels which had found their way to the northwest began to make those Pacific voyages to which allusion has been already made. In those cases, of course, the urge was commercial rather than political, yet it is clear that when Mr. Seward[1] negotiated for the purchase of Alaska from Russia he had at least the intuition that destiny was calling upon the United States to play not only a Pacific but an Asiatic rôle.

Then the dream faded, except in so far as the reopening of China and Japan to American commerce made the Pacific a reality. The vision did not return until after the inauguration of President McKinley in 1897 and the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands. But the visions men had up to this point were mere phantoms of the night as compared with those excited by the dramatic events of the first days of May 1898. In those

[1] *Cf.* Mr. Seward's words: "The Pacific Ocean with its shores, islands, and the vast region beyond will become the world's greatest theatre hereafter."

days, as by a bolt from the blue, the United States was made aware of a destiny across the Pacific, in lands whose very names were to the majority of Americans meaningless, unknown. The acquisition of the Philippines by purchase from Spain, following upon the Peace of Paris, must be regarded as an event second to none in the story of our political action abroad.

The date 1898 may indeed be considered epoch-making in American history for the world-consciousness it was destined to make possible. Yet there is no real antagonism between the two periods of history, before and since, for though America's time of segregation was not terminated until the events we have mentioned, the tide of history had been all along carrying the United States toward a closer contact with Asia. The movement of Americans across their own plains toward the shores of the Pacific was the movement of frontiersmen advancing to contact with the frontiersmen of the Eastern hemisphere.[1] Though in 1913 President Wilson seemed shocked at the idea of our interfering with the domestic concerns of China, that interference had been a fact as early as the first treaty we made with China in 1844. In the imposing upon China of the disabilities of extrality, in the refusal of tariff autonomy, and in all that is involved in most-favored-nation clauses, the United States had been guilty of interference, in line with the other treaty Powers.[2] Indeed, in the reopening of Japan the United States had taken the leading part in forcing its nationals upon the unwilling East. Although there was no avowal on the part of Perry of intention to open Japan to the world by force, there is little doubt that such a violent introduction of Japan to international life was among the probabilities. By the Treaty of Kanagawa the United States as definitely left behind its

[1] *Cf.* Inui, *The Unsolved Problem of the Pacific*, ch. I.

[2] It should be remembered that American traders had their share in the opium traffic. American vessels had the monopoly of taking Turkish opium to China. In 1839, 1500 of the chests of opium seized by Commissioner Lin were the property of one American firm. When the trade was legalized in 1858 the action had the support of the American plenipotentiary.

own continental seclusion, to find political and commercial expansion in Asiatic waters, as Japan deserted her own policy of an hermetically sealed existence for intercourse with the outer world. The extent to which two worlds, each unknown to the other, differed in civilization and ideals is illustrated not merely in the reports which came from Japan through the pens of Perry and his associates but also in the accounts given by the first Japanese envoys to the United States in 1861. They expressed their amazement over the crudities of a barbarian court and a nation without refinement.[1] We are so accustomed to think of the service we rendered Japan in opening her eyes to the advantage of things Western that we have but little reflected over the enlargement of mind and soul which is still possible to America through the sympathetic understanding of things Oriental.

Since the making of treaties with China and Japan, the situation on both sides of the Pacific has become replete with problems as well as with profits. While some of these problems have been to a certain extent disposed of, others are at present in the fruiting or seeding stage. On some of them it is not now necessary to dwell. For instance, the Chinese immigration question has passed the danger point, though the general question should not be regarded as settled on any principle which can ultimately be considered satisfactory. The acquiescence of Chinese in the status assigned them has been a considerable element in the situation, but we cannot assume that this acquiescence will continue if China pulls herself together as a united and powerful state. The question of the use of American capital in China is one which has by no means been settled. The old period of competition has been in a measure superseded by a period of international finance, but it is quite possible that the financial conquest of China by means of a consortium may be feared and resented. The presence of American money in China does condition China's independence

[1] See "The First Japanese Embassy to America," H. H. Gowen, *Washington Historical Quarterly*, Jan. 1925.

in ways which are sufficiently obvious. As Mr. J. V. McMurray[1] writes: "The international status of the Chinese Government is determined and conditioned by its business contacts with individual foreign firms or syndicates, scarcely, if at all, less than by its formal treaties with other governments."[2] It is this fact which was President Wilson's excuse for saying that foreign loans may "touch very nearly the administrative independence of China." Though loans are offered presumably for important constructive and reconstructive work which China by herself is unable to carry through, it becomes a grave question, very seriously viewed by certain Chinese statesmen, as to how far a consortium may not involve a foreign supervision of China herself. Mr. McMurray's words are strikingly true: "The way in which foreign capital meets its responsibilities in serving the ends of the new China will, more than any other factor, determine the solution of that greatest of all problems confronting mankind — the relationship that is to exist between the civilizations of the East and of the West."[3]

Another question which requires to be studied from opposite points of view is that of trade competition in the Orient, and the doctrine of the open door. There are at least three points of view to be kept in mind in considering this question. There is the altruistic point of view, which is so often put forward exclusively — the idea that the open door is an American ideal, purely in the interest of China and designed to head off the ambition of imperialistic powers. There is the Japanese point of view, which regards the mainland of Asia as of particular importance to Nippon, by reason of contiguity and as supplying the raw materials necessary for her as an industrial nation. There is also, unquestionably, a kind of American imperialism which considers the Eastern markets especially attractive and is inclined to resent the competition of rivals. All these points

[1] Now American Minister to China.

[2] See "Problems of Foreign Capital in China," J. V. McMurray, *Foreign Affairs*, April 1925.

[3] *Ibid.*

of view are legitimate, up to a certain limit. We need a China protected from those who would monopolize her to their own advantage; we need a Japan whose surplus population finds an outlet into lands adjacent to the Empire; we need also an America which seeks and finds markets across the Pacific. The task of statesmanship is so to reconcile these points of view that these nations, with all others concerned, may not ruin the splendid prospects they now envisage by seeking enrichment through the impoverishment of others.

Much might be said with regard to the questions already touched, but there are two other questions which are of such distinct importance that for the remainder of the chapter we must confine ourselves to them. They are: first, the question of the disposal of the Philippines; secondly, that of a just solution of the immigration question as it affects Orientals.

The Philippine question at present is not really whether the United States should retain or give up the islands. From the beginning of the occupation our avowed policy has been to prepare them for self-government. This is plainly stated in the preamble of the Jones Bill of 1910. The problem now is when and under what conditions we should withdraw, so as to leave the natives of the group free to pursue their independent national life. There have been already several kinds of government paving the way toward greater freedom. On May 1, 1898, Admiral Dewey destroyed the Spanish fleet and occupied Cavite. On August 13 Manila was captured by General Wesley Merritt. By the Peace of Paris, December 10, 1898, the islands passed into American hands, though the treaty was not confirmed by the Senate till February 6, 1899. There was some disappointment among the Filipinos, under their leader, Aguinaldo, because the islands, bought from Spain for $20,000,000, were not immediately handed over to the revolutionary chief. This, with other misunderstandings, led to the campaign against the rebels, which was only ended by the capture of Aguinaldo on March 23, 1901. Civil government was introduced by a Commission headed by Dr. J. G. Schur-

man, sent by President McKinley. In 1900 the Taft Commission was sent, with larger powers, and great reforms were introduced, including the reshaping of the schools, the judiciary, the constabulary, and the departments of health and forestry. Mr. Taft became Governor-General on the expiration of military government in 1901, and his handling of the delicate matter of the Church lands with the Vatican was marked by singular skill. Other governors followed along the lines laid down by Taft until the Wilson administration of 1913, when Governor Harrison adopted the policy of hurrying up the promised era of self-government. In most cases he replaced American officials by Filipinos, and did everything possible to stimulate the movement for independence. It was doubtless intended by President Wilson that the Philippines should be an example of practical belief in self-determination. While all will sympathize with the desire on his part to fulfill the pledges made at the beginning and from time to time renewed, many people at the present time are of the opinion that Mr. Harrison's Philippine policy was premature if not positively mischievous. One consequence has been the long-drawn-out struggle between the administration of Governor Leonard Wood and the native champions of independence, as represented by Manuel Quezon.[1]

The constituent parts of the Philippine question as they present themselves to-day are as follows.

First, have we fulfilled our expressed intention of educating the Filipinos as a whole to the point of being fit to control their own destiny? It goes without saying that the American occupation has put within reach of most of the native tribes untold advantages. Knowledge of all kinds, sanitary, educational, political, has been freely given by an army of devoted Americans whose work is now, for the most part, at an end. Two subordinate questions remain: Are the tribes ready to constitute a nation? Are the Filipinos who are represented by the agitators fit to guide the destinies of the whole group? To each of these questions honesty demands at present a reluctant

[1] See Quezon's *Addresses*, published by the Philippine Commission of Independence.

negative. It is difficult to think of Tagalogs, Ilocanoes, Igorrotes, and Moros living in peace under any one of the present groups. It is impossible to think of any of these groups as capable of ruling justly and efficiently the complex intermingling of races, languages, religions, and degrees of culture which now characterize the Filipinos as a people.

The second question is: What effect would Philippine independence have upon the political destinies of the islands, apart from any inability on the part of the natives to govern wisely and well? It is not necessary to suppose that they would be at once snapped up by some other Power. We learn that, some years prior to the Spanish-American war, Japan had the opportunity to purchase the group for $8,000,000 — a bargain price. But it is quite certain that, annexed or unannexed, as in the case of Korea, the islands would so speedily become the arena for international intrigue that some Power would persuade itself of the necessity of seizing them in self-defense.

The third question is: What would be the effect of Philippine independence upon American interests in the East? This is not wholly a selfish question, with its bearings upon American strategy and American commerce. In some ways the United States would even benefit by the removal of Japanese fears as to the proximity of an American naval base. But it is probable that American power would still be looked upon as within call by a Philippine government in difficulties, as it is now in Hayti. The difficulty of intervening under such circumstances would be a thousand times greater than that of maintaining the present American army of occupation.

On the whole, it seems the duty of Americans to continue the political education of the Filipino to a point at which, with more assurance than can at present be given, the whole population of some 17,000,000 can be depended upon to preserve the inestimable boon it has been America's privilege to confer.

The American possession of Guam must be considered as in some ways connected with American control of the Philippines. Guam is the southernmost of the Mariana group, 3300 miles

from Honolulu and 1400 from Yokohama. So also of our control of the cable system converging on the island of Yap, one of the Caroline Islands given over to Japan after the war. Guam was captured by Captain Glass of the Charleston in 1898 and has since been under the Naval Department. It occupies a highly strategic position in Eastern waters, but in accord with the decisions of the Washington Conference,[1] will not be fortified beyond what has already been completed. As the first possession of the United States on which the sun shines in its daily course, it will always have an interest in addition to that of its position as the point whence radiate the cables of the American Pacific system.

Yap is an island between the Philippines and Guam, one of the Carolines taken from Germany by Japan. President Wilson confessed in August 1919 that he had never previously heard the name of the island. Considerable alarm was at the time manifested lest its possession by Japan should result in a permanent sealing of the cables which communicate with China, Japan, the Philippines, and the Dutch Indies. The matter was satisfactorily adjudicated just before the Washington Conference, and it is probable that for most people the name of Yap will settle back into the limbo of things unremembered.

The second great question which, when answered, will determine definitely the attitude we have chosen to adopt toward Asia, and whether in friendly or hostile mood, is that of the immigration of Asiatics. It may be taken for granted that comparatively few object to the principle of the Immigration Act of 1924. It represents the return swing of the pendulum from the centrifugal idealism which once invited the burdened and oppressed of all the earth to find refuge on the ample bosom of the American Republic. Probably the extent to which this policy was inspired by altruism has been exaggerated. The economic necessity to provide more laborers for field and mine and railroad had its important place. But, altruism or no altruism, the situation gave rise to the famous melting-pot

[1] See Kawakami's *Japan's Pacific Policy*, Appendix xv.

theory, with its vision of an homogeneous people all cast in precisely the same mould and dead to the nationalisms from whence they came. The years before and during the war revealed that the saturation point in assimilation had been reached. We were in fact maintaining what Mr. Roosevelt called "a polyglot boarding-house," of people alien in language, culture, and race, all under the protective shadow of the flag. It seemed to many quite time to retrace our steps, at least to the extent of seeing to it that the main stream of the American stock was not diluted beyond recognition. All that was done to remedy this, in the Bill proper, was in the right direction. It was the more to be deplored, therefore, that the new principle of ethnocracy was introduced by discrimination against certain peoples in a summary and offensive way, where practical exclusion might have been attained in other ways. That anti-Japanese feeling was imported into a big measure for national protection is undeniable. The story of the development of this antagonism has been given in part in Chapter XVII, where reference is made to the "gentlemen's agreement" and the California Alien Land Act of 1913.[1]

With regard to this latter, it is to be observed that soon after its enactment several loopholes were discovered, which suggested to its promoters the need of amendment. Land might still be leased by Japanese for three years; corporations in which Japanese were financially interested might purchase land; and purchase might be made in the name of American-born children of Japanese parents. So, by Initiative, the Californian Alien Land Act[2] of 1920 was placed upon the statute books by a three-to-one vote. Other Western states followed with similar enactments. In favor of these laws popular opinion was excited by accounts of the picture-bride process of introducing Japanese women into the country

[1] For text of the Alien Land Law of 1913 see Inui, *op. cit.*, Appendix 29.

[2] For text of the Act of 1920, see Inui, *op. cit.*, Appendix 30. Mr. Inui points out the impossibility of understanding the purport of the Act without reading the Japanese-American Treaty of 1911, which he gives as Appendix 3.

(though the system was abolished in February 1920), and by stories of the high birth-rate (less, as a matter of fact, than that of our feeble-minded) of the Japanese in the United States. The Alien Land Act of 1920 not only prohibited land-ownership by Japanese, but also the leasing of agricultural land, land-ownership by companies in which Japanese were interested, and even land-ownership by Japanese children born in the United States, unless these were removed from the guardianship of their parents.

The reasons urged for legislation of this kind were as follows: First, there was, after the war, the feeling that Japanese aliens were displacing the returned soldiers who, after sacrificing much in the cause of civilization, found themselves out of employment. This reason was particularly urged by the American Legion. Secondly, there were race prejudice and a very general lack of world consciousness. Strangely enough, this was largely the attitude of those who were themselves immigrants or the children of immigrants. Thirdly, there was the fear of Japanese imperialism, either in the form of armed descent upon the Pacific coast or in the form of peaceful penetration. It was singularly like the fear which Chinese and Japanese had themselves felt in the early days of Occidental contact. Fourthly, there were misunderstandings — often due directly to propaganda — as to the number of Japanese in the country, the significance of birth-rate statistics, the attitude of Japan toward foreign ownership at home, the matter of dual citizenship, and the like.

As to some of the above questions, the real facts are often so persistently perverted that it may be well to give the following details. The number of Japanese at present in the (continental) United States is something less than 120,000, of whom about 30,000 are American-born. Japan has no immigration-exclusion law. She does not exclude Chinese or Koreans. More Koreans are in Japan to-day than there are Japanese in Korea. The admission of Chinese laborers is regulated by the Japanese local authorities to prevent the overcrowding of

certain occupations, but there is no exclusion. Foreigners may become citizens of Japan by naturalization, by adoption, or by marriage into a Japanese family. Foreigners cannot purchase land in Japan in fee simple, but they may lease for as long as 999 years. They may also become "a juridical person" by incorporation, "securing privileges identical with those possessed by corporations of natives." In the matter of birth-rate, the Japanese birth-rate in California is high, as with the first generation of all immigrants, but it is already showing signs of decline. In Hawaii the Japanese birth-rate is lower than that of Chinese, Porto Ricans, Spanish, and some other nationalities. In the matter of dual citizenship, Japan was simply following the general custom, since even American children born in Japan retain their American citizenship and must be registered at an American consulate. But a law was passed by the Japanese Diet, July 1, 1924 (effective December 1, 1925), which provides that all Japanese born in foreign countries shall lose their Japanese nationality from birth "unless formal action be taken to preserve their rights to Japanese citizenship." All things considered, the putting of Asiatics on the quota basis would have well served the purpose of those who wished to exclude them practically from our shores, without introducing the new principle of race discrimination. Under the quota only 146 Japanese and 100 Chinese would have been eligible annually.

The "grave consequences"[1] predicted by Mr. Hanihara[2] as a result of the passage of the bill have certainly come. Many Japanese who in no wise resented the exclusion were deeply wounded by the manner in which it was carried out. Large classes were embittered against our whole civilization. Tendencies have already manifested themselves in the Orient toward a drawing together of Japan, China, and Russia in defense of things Oriental.

As fears and prejudices are the children of ignorance, it may reasonably be hoped that with the dissemination of knowledge

[1] See Mr. Hughes's letter to Mr. Hanihara, quoted by Inui as Appendix 52.
[2] Then Japanese Minister to the United States.

fears will be scattered and racial animosity allayed. Some good work along these lines has already been accomplished. Since the Washington Conference the nightmare of a sudden naval descent upon our shores has been dispelled. The Immigration Act [1] should at least in equal measure dispel the fear of any peaceful penetration. The great thing now is to deal fairly and justly with the alien populations in our midst, and so to use our commercial rivalry on the Pacific that it may yield healthful intercourse and good understanding, to take the place of the old suspicion and mistrust.

Along the line of commerce there is a great opportunity for Americans, but as yet the most striking feature of the situation is the way in which the opportunity is neglected. Mr. J. B. Powell of Shanghai has said that "the mere fact of being an American citizen is a handicap to doing business in China." He justifies the statement by speaking of the small number of the laws — since the creation of the United States Court for China in 1906 — passed to safeguard the interests of Americans in the East. Hence he declares, "We are not foreign traders . . . we are merely order-fillers." Of course the passing of the China Trade Act has given much encouragement to Americans having business in the East, but this is only a beginning.

The truth is that no phase of our relations with the Orient, political, commercial, or social, can much advance until the country as a whole attains to a world consciousness. In a delightful little symposium, entitled *The Island of Sleep*, by "Cadmus and Harmonia," the members of a singularly representative house-party are agreed that "foreign affairs are as much a part of politics as an increase in the income tax." They declare that the least important aspect of the League of Nations is as a guaranty of peace, and conclude: "We must create an international mood." It would seem that the creation, not only of an international mood, but also, within this mood, of an international conscience, is the most pressing of the many problems now being forced upon the attention of the United

[1] For text of the Immigration Act of 1924 see Inui, *op. cit.*, Appendix 23.

States. It seems, further, that the most significant thing about the challenge of the time — for as a challenge it comes — is the apparent blindness of the vast mass of our people to its presence and its insistency. Have we failed at the critical moment to remember the familiar lines of American poetry which tell of the "Crises, God's stern winnowers, from whose feet earth's chaff must fly"? The former segregation, of which some Americans (like the Japanese) are so inordinately proud, was not, under the circumstances, bad or unnecessary. It was one of those things which are good in their time. There was in it, so Royce has shown, "the positive value of a wholesome provincialism." It was the appointed means for keeping together the product of diverse stocks long enough to blend them into one homogeneous whole. But that condition no longer exists. Nor can it exist in the future. We have moved away from it as completely as the general civilization has moved away from the old potamic and thalassic stages. Even oceans are no longer barriers. Marconi has rendered even the Monroe Doctrine (in the old sense) a nugatory if not a meaningless thing. Physically the continents are a thousand times closer together than were the several parts of the Roman Empire. The rapid dissemination of news makes us all contemporary participants of the emotion and experience of Europe and Asia. Racial affinities and family ties make the United States merely the projection of foreign problems into another hemisphere. We cannot escape the daily looking back to the pit whence we were digged. Moreover, by a will more potent than the policies of our statesmen, our national prestige is now bound up with the maintenance of American honor in the far parts of the earth. China and Japan touch America on their own shores and in their own harbors, as well as in New England or in California. Henceforth, to parody Rudyard Kipling, it may be said: "What do they know of America who only America know?" In this new world-consciousness of the United States Asia is bound to have her large and significant place.

CHAPTER XXIII

CHANGING ALIGNMENTS IN ASIA

On May 26, 1924, the President of the United States approved the "Act limiting the immigration of aliens into the United States, and for other purposes." By this law aliens ineligible to citizenship were barred from entry to the United States unless admissible as non-quota immigrants; namely, (*a*) persons previously admitted lawfully to the country and returning from a temporary visit abroad; (*b*) persons who continuously for at least two years immediately preceding the time of application for admission have been (and are seeking entrance to the United States solely for the purpose of) carrying on the profession of minister of a religious denomination, or professor of a college, seminary, or university, together with the wives and unmarried children (up to the age of eighteen) of the same, accompanying or following; (*c*) bona-fide students at least fifteen years of age who are entering the country to attend some designated school, college, or university, approved by the Secretary of Labor, and who shall report to the Secretary the termination of such attendance.[1]

The term "ineligible to citizenship" applies of course to the majority of Asiatics. The naturalization of Chinese is expressly prohibited by statute. The Supreme Court has held, again, in the Ozawa case, November 13, 1922, that Japanese are likewise ineligible to citizenship. Once again, in the Bhag Singh Thind case, the Supreme Court has decided that Hindus are likewise ineligible. Thus at least 750,000,000 of the people of Asia

[1] See Inui, *op. cit.*

are debarred from the quota provisions of the Immigration Act.

This fact by itself, without reference to the Alien Land Laws passed in the states of California, Oregon, Washington, Texas, Idaho, Arizona, Delaware, Louisiana, Montana, New Mexico, and Kansas, between 1913 and 1925, must necessarily have its important repercussions in Asia.

It is unfortunately beyond question that all Asia felt hurt by the Act. This was not so much because of the exclusion. Most people everywhere understood the need for restriction of immigration. But it was generally believed that this might have been accomplished — as in some other countries — without the implication that Asiatics were people of inferior breed and undesirable because of race. It was felt that the introduction of this new principle of ethnocracy was specially aimed at Japan. But in addition to the general grievance, by which Japan's pride of race was wounded, it was felt that suspicion had been cast upon the sincerity of her "gentleman's agreement," which had worked satisfactorily for no less than seventeen years.[1]

The feeling had its manifestations on both sides of the Pacific. In Japan venerable statesmen who had labored all their lives long for good understanding between the United States and Japan were tempted to doubt the value of the efforts made. From the United States some Japanese went home permanently embittered against the civilization which had hitherto been their model. Others remained, and, expelled from their farms and leaseholds, found the greatest difficulty in starting life afresh. Some found the line of least resistance in bootlegging and gambling. Many thoughtful Japanese felt the possibility of grave consequences, not in the direction of an incredible war but in the rekindling of animosities which had been assuaged in the generous days of the earthquake relief. Dr. K. Ikuba[2] expressed the fears of many when he wrote: "It may create

[1] See Inui, *op. cit.*, ch. IX.

[2] Moderator of the Japanese Presbyterian Church.

anew the old anti-racial feeling of the Asiatic people against America, which country has been generally believed to be eminently just and friendly toward these people. It is well known how powerful and uncontrollable race feeling is when once aroused. Distinct murmurings are already audible from Peking, Canton, and Calcutta. There is a possibility that this low muttering may grow into a desperate cry." [1]

It is necessary to follow up such indications as these in order to appreciate the manifest increase during the last two or three years of what is called Pan-Asianism. Coincidently with the drawing away from the leadership of the West, there has been a distinct drawing together of various elements in Asia. This is plain from a consideration of the present official relations of China and Russia.

The most remarkable feature of this rapprochement has been what we may call the cultural drive of Russia upon the whole of Eastern Asia. How far this extended to the supply of arms, money, and men to the anti-foreign forces of the East is uncertain.[2] It is, however, plain that propaganda — extending in some cases to the interleaving of Christian literature — has been both systematic and persistent. That it has been successful has been shown in more than one instance. It has even accomplished the apparently impossible by bringing together official China and Japan in search for some common formula of security. Of course Japan has left with the Western Powers too many hostages to fortune to permit her return to a wholly Asiatic status. Yet there are several signs that she would prefer a position of leadership in the East to a dubious position neither of the East nor of the West. The revolution by which Tsao Kun was pushed aside from the Presidency of China in

[1] *Japan Wonders Why*, by William Axling.

[2] Ma Soo, formerly Sun Yat-sen's agent in the United States, stated at Shanghai, on December 12, 1925: "Since returning to China I have become aware of the Communistic propaganda which the Soviet has been and is spreading in this country. . . . The worst phase of Soviet propaganda is the use of Russian gold for the accomplishment of its purpose. I have positive proof of the use of Soviet money in the Chinese schools among the students and teachers."

November 1924 and Tuan Chi-jui elevated to the precarious perch of Chief Executive is not to be fully understood till it is recalled that Tuan was the statesman who was hounded out of office in 1919 because of his pro-Japanese proclivities. That his government has been for all practical purposes impotent since his accession does not rob the fact of its significance, or blind one to the efforts which Soviet Russia has been making to obtain prestige in Peking and Tokyo alike.[1]

Russia, of course, has had in China personages much more easy to control than Chang or Tuan. For instance, General Fêng, the so-called Christian general, having turned traitor to his old master, Wu Pei-fu, has found no difficulty in accommodating himself to the designs of the Soviets. This came about by way of his conversion to the principles of Sun Yat-sen and the Kuomintang. Dr. Sun was to the last the stormy petrel of Chinese politics. His policy was to undermine as far as possible such authority as still remained to the Central Government. He was, moreover, hostile not merely to the rival military leaders, but almost as much so to the foreign treaty Powers. Whatever may have been the ultimate designs of Russia, it must be confessed that instruments were temptingly at hand.

Sun was slowly dying of cancer, though alive enough to quarrel with Tuan. Toward the end he probably had little control over the course of events. He died on March 11, 1925, at Peking, in his sixty-fourth year.[2]

The career of this remarkable man is not easy to estimate at its true value. He is, of course, entitled to much of the credit for producing the revolution which drove out of China an alien dynasty, but he lacked the constructive ability to make the Republic a reality. Apparently he was not a good judge of human tools. More than once in his career he made strange alliances for the sake of retaining his personal power. It is this

[1] At the moment of writing, Tuan's resignation is being demanded by the "White" Kuomintang.

[2] The Bolshevists sent him an elaborate coffin, but his widow asked and obtained for him a Christian funeral.

SUN YAT-SEN, FIRST PROVISIONAL PRESIDENT OF THE CHINESE REPUBLIC

Photograph by the Keystone View Company of New York

last characteristic which explains the willingness in his last year to join forces with his old opponent, Tuan. For a time he seems to have trusted his new ally. He forgot all about Anfuism and the Nishihara loans.[1] Tuan apparently appreciated the situation. He issued a mandate after Sun's death which begins as follows: "Sun Wên, former President of the Provisional Government, introduced reforms to the country by promoting the cause of Republicanism. He brought the Revolution of 1911 to a successful end, and yet disclaimed power and position. Notwithstanding this, he continued to work for the welfare of the people and the country with energy and wisdom that won him the admiration of the whole nation. I, the Provisional Chief Executive, have always held this veteran leader in high esteem. I have always been badly in need of his help." [2]

These last words, probably not all insincere, make no allusion to the fact that almost the last incident in Sun's life was a violent dispute with Tuan over the Rehabilitation Conference.

Sun, to quote a writer in the *North China Herald*, was "in no sense a great man; he was undeniably a great force." Perhaps, as the bore at Hangchow, rushing in from the sea "with a wrathful sound and a roar as of thunder," is regarded as the spirit of a dead leader of the fifth century B.C., so the present wave of national self-consciousness rolling across the country may be in some sense considered as the embodiment of the spirit of Sun.

Certainly, since Sun's death, the situation has rapidly developed so far as the manifestation of popular feeling is concerned.

Some phases of this manifestation express merely the natural desire of the people to become articulate. Such may be what is known as the Mass Education movement, under the general

[1] That is, the loans obtained during the Great War from Japan on both national and provincial security.

[2] Dr. Sun's part in the actual Revolution is said to have been small. See Woodhead, *Occidental Interpretations of the Far Eastern Problem*, p. 14. Ex-President Li Yuan-hung said: "If he (Sun) ever provided any tangible aid to the real Revolution, I did not know of it. His repute was largely founded on fiction."

direction of Mr. Y. C. James Yen, a former Y. M. C. A. worker with the coolies in France. The movement attempts to give some of the illiterate millions of China "a maximum of practical vocabulary within a minimum time and at a minimum cost." In a total of ninety-six hours, using the mass method of visual instruction and supervised mass-recitation with stereopticon, about a thousand characters are taught, and the pupils are enabled to read newspapers and simple leaflets at an average cost of fifty cents. Of course the final results of the movement still await a verdict, but the experiment itself is exceedingly interesting and significant.[1]

Almost coincident with the new desire to read is the well-nigh universal expression of the desire to shake off the shackles of extraterritoriality, tariff limitation, and other signs of foreign domination. The agitation has no doubt been stimulated by the fact that these things have been relinquished by Germans, Austrians, and Russians. The assertion is made — without proper verification — that those nationals have no complaint to make as to their condition under Chinese law. Foreign opinion on the whole matter is divided. Some advocate the abolition of extrality on idealistic grounds. Others feel that the abolition might well be conceded on the practical ground that Russian and German traders are gaining prestige through the renouncement. Most nationals appreciate the inconveniences as well as the advantages of consular jurisdiction, and would be ready to relinquish it, provided they were well assured of the efficiency and justice of the Chinese courts. But here lies the difficulty. It is not fair to place the blame for the situation on the Treaty Powers, since it is almost wholly through the failure of the Chinese Government itself that the meeting of the commission suggested by the Washington Conference was

[1] Mr. Yen speaks of the illiterates as being 80 per cent of the population. It is probably more, since, in 1908, when a programme of preparation for popular government was set forth, it was estimated that 1 per cent of the people might be literate by 1914 and 5 per cent by 1916. At the time of the Revolution probably 99 per cent of the Chinese were illiterate, a state of ignorance forming but a poor foundation for a republic.

postponed.[1] It would be exceedingly difficult at the present juncture to persuade foreign residents in China that Chinese law and Chinese administration are throughout the Republic adequate for the protection of life and property. The postponed meeting was arranged to take place at the end of 1925, but the chaotic condition of the country has once again interposed unfortunately the necessity for delay. This is the more regrettable since the Conference held earlier in the winter at Peking on the Tariff Question had come to conclusions which must have been highly satisfactory to China. These were that China should, after February 2, 1926, have the right to levy a surtax of 2½ per cent and, after July 1, a 5 per cent tax on luxuries. After January 1, 1929, China was to be permitted to write her own tariff schedules and to abolish likin. All this was to be embodied in a new treaty and three months after the signing of the treaty was to be allowed to levy from 5 per cent to 12½ per cent on imports and 7½ per cent on exports.

Another development of the new nationalism is seen in the widespread strikes in the schools, both missionary and governmental. It has even involved institutions of the standing of St. John's University, Shanghai. The scale on which all this has taken place clearly shows much previous preparation and propaganda. In some cases the strike in Christian schools merely took the form of refusal to attend the chapel services; in others it went to the extent of the destruction of Christian literature and other school property.

From the schools the strikes spread in May 1925 to the cotton mills in and around Shanghai. Conditions in the cotton mills are, of course, by no means ideal. But the Japanese mills are no worse than the Chinese, and the fact that the attack was made first on these was of political rather than economic significance. So the shooting of a Chinese rioter in defense of

[1] "The Commission should have met on or before May 6, 1922, but in the meantime China was involved in another civil war, and since then she has made repeated requests for a postponement" (Woodhead, *op. cit.*, p. 99).

the Japanese mill-property proved the spark which started a perfect conflagration of anti-foreign parading and demonstrating. The carrying of this demonstration into the foreign concession of Shanghai on the fateful afternoon of Saturday, May 30, led to the unfortunate affair of the Louza police-station and the death of some eleven of the demonstrators. Those who blame the police officer for giving the order to fire hardly take into consideration the character of the mob which was accompanying the student parade, nor do they consider what might have happened had this mob possessed itself of the store of weapons which the small police-force was engaged in defending.

The repercussions of the Shanghai affair [1] were general over China. The colleges and schools of China, whether on strike or not, passed resolutions demanding the punishment of the concession police. The Peking Government sent a rather ridiculous document of thirteen points to the legations. General Fêng issued an appeal, based on much misinformation, to the Christian world.[2] The successive days of June were strident with the cry "Death to foreigners!" and lurid with incidents of violence and bloodshed in many widely separated points. On June 11 an attack was made upon the British concession at Hankow. On June 15 Mr. William Mackenzie was murdered in cold blood on the streets of Shanghai. A violent attack, under Russian Red leadership, was made upon the Shameen [3] at Canton, on June 22, after fair warning had been given by the British Consul-General. So matters went on, nervous nationalism more and more extravagant with every fresh incident, and the Powers by no means certain how best to deal with the situation.

[1] For a verbatim account of the inquiry into the facts of the shooting, see the supplement to the *North China Herald*. The trial before the Mixed Court was held on June 2, 3, 9, 10, and 11.

[2] The two translations of the manifesto published in China and America do not seem made from the same original. The latter is much watered down.

[3] Literally, "Sand flat," the foreign concession of Canton, at the southwest corner of the city. It was a mud flat till 1859, when, through the efforts of Parkes, it was embanked and surrounded by a wall.

Apart from particular incidents, there can be no doubt that Chinese public opinion is at present inflamed against foreigners beyond all precedent since the days of the Boxers. Feeling is particularly incensed against the British, chiefly perhaps because they represent the most strongly entrenched of the foreign interests. But it is fairly well understood that, while anti-British agitation may gather a certain amount of sympathy in certain American quarters, the movement, skillfully directed by Bolshevist agents, is against all of the so-called imperialist capitalistic nations.

Naturally, the Chinese nationalistic revolution is not only anti-foreign but also anti-Christian. "Not since the Boxer uprising in 1900," it has been said, "has there been such open and widespread hostility toward organized Christianity in China as at the present time." It is led, moreover, says Mr. Stanley High,[1] not by reactionaries, as formerly, but by the most aggressive and most modern advocates of progress, including the student classes and the intelligentsia generally. The movement, in this respect, follows naturally the formation of the Anti-Christian Student Association, which was inaugurated in Shanghai and Peking in 1922 and owes something to the lectures of Mr. Bertrand Russell. The movement represents a swinging away not only from Christianity but from religion generally, including even Confucianism. The charge is that religion is out of date, hostile to science, and the stronghold of a capitalism which battens upon the fruits of labor. It seems certain at the present time that missionary work in many places will have to make new beginnings with considerable modification of method.

As to the situation as a whole, it may be said that the European Powers, together with Japan and the United States, are slowly arriving at an agreement for the handling of the problems involved. It is fairly certain that what is done will be in no unsympathetic spirit toward China. Real effort will be made to assist the struggling republic to attain stability and

[1] Of the Methodist Board of Foreign Missions.

unity. At the same time China must do some housecleaning for herself. Mr. Tong Shao-yi states the truth when he writes: "The American Government expects three things from us. They are (1) Codification of criminal and civil law; (2) Establishment of a responsible judiciary; (3) Acceptance by all factions of the responsibility of the Central Government."[1] In any other direction the outlook is rather dark. Mr. Thomas F. Millard, one of the most experienced residents of the Far East, writes as follows: "It is difficult to predict to what extent the present disorders will go. That depends on the plans of the inner committee of the Chinese radical party, which instigated and directs the movement now sweeping China. The master minds are confident of their ability to abrogate unequal treaties and the foreign concessions ultimately, provided Great Britain and America are unable to agree upon concerted action. The Powers should realize that this programme is not visionary, but is quite logical and supportable by many reasonable arguments."

To one important question we must recur. What is the relation of Japan to this gradually unfolding drama? Will she ultimately face east or west? Or will she be able to find middle ground between the two?

It would be absurd for Japan to sacrifice the place she has won among the Western Powers, after so tremendous an effort. It would be still more absurd if she did not realize the immense advantage of being on good terms with China and Russia. She must have bitterly repented the strategical error which made her China's most dreaded and hated foe. The unity of Asia, in the attaining of which Japan may very well be called upon to play a leading part, is a vision not to be idly disregarded. It will not be possible, however, so long as the most important of the Asiatic Powers are unreconciled and mistrustful.

What is true of Japan's relations with China applies also to Russia. Imperial or Soviet, Russia is a neighbor whose friendship is essential to Japanese security. After the war of 1904–05

[1] See *North China Herald*, Aug. 1, 1925.

there were reasons for agreeing with the adversary quickly. Those reasons are doubly valid since the Great War and its significant sequels. As early as August 1921 negotiations started at Dairen between the two Powers. Failure for a while seemed the only result, partly because of the unwillingness of Imperial Japan to recognize the Soviet Government, partly because of hitches in the adjustment of the affray at Nikolaievsk, partly again because of Japan's indisposition to evacuate Northern Sakhalin without the desired compensation. But the necessities of both countries have justified the patience of their respective statesmen. Russia needed the recovery of her international relations, and Japan needed the immense supplies of oil — estimated as from one fifth to one half the amount beneath the soil of the United States — which were locked up in the northern portion of Sakhalin. Hence the Russo-Japanese Treaty, signed at Peking on January 21, 1925, was hailed as of the highest importance not only to Japan and Russia but to the world. By its terms diplomatic relations are restored between the two countries, the Treaty of Portsmouth is recognized by the Soviet Government, Russia gives her apology instead of an indemnity for the Nikolaievsk massacre of 1920, and Japan secures the needed concessions in Sakhalin, namely, fifty per cent of the coal and oil products of North Sakhalin, on the condition that she withdraw her troops as rapidly as possible. Moreover, Japan's fears as to Bolshevist propaganda within her own territory are allayed by the insertion of a non-propaganda clause. The Nippon statesmen had been justifiably nervous as to the influence of Russian politics upon her new electorate. Premier Kato was exacting from the Diet a stringent law against communism almost at the moment of the signing of the Russo-Japanese Treaty.

This same nervousness must necessarily show itself in connection with present developments in China. Whatever the attitude of Chief Executive Tuan, Japan must be anxious for better relations with the Middle Kingdom. But can she have the same confidence in the radical enthusiasts who boast their

friendship with the Russian revolutionists as in the more responsible representatives at Peking? The cynical might suppose that the disintegration of China, whether induced by her own confusions or by the exploitation of foreign powers, would be Japan's opportunity. This is, however, a shallow judgment. The fire in a near neighbor's house is too dangerous a thing to rejoice in, however good may be the chance of loot.

In the uprising against foreign control and unfair conditions in the mills, Japan has naturally been included among the spoliators. Her nationals have been attacked as often as British and Americans. Her gunboats have been in demand at the treaty ports for the protection of her nationals. Yet it is not at all impossible that, as Japan has shown her desire to be on good terms with China, the directors of public opinion in China may conceivably come to the conclusion that their own deliverance from the trammels of foreign control may be more easily achieved with the good will of a friendly Japan than by placing her among China's enemies. With China and Japan agreed, and with each sufficiently alive to the importance of preserving amicable relations with Russia, the day of Asia's independence will not be long deferred. Yet it is difficult to see much at present in the state of China to make one optimistic. Twenty-five armies are still in action in various parts of the country and not one of these is at the service of the Central Government. Tuan Chi-jui has become more and more a puppet and at last has summoned up courage to announce his imminent resignation. The super-tuchuns Chang Tso-lin and Fêng Yu-hsiang have, each in his own way, done as much as possible to make union difficult. The former, after suffering from the mutiny of his general Kuo Sung-lien, has taken a bloody revenge upon the defeated subordinate and his innocent wife. Fêng, under cover of negotiations with Li Ching-ling, the Civil Governor of Chihli, has made a treacherous attack upon Tientsin, where he has been endeavoring to consolidate his power. Yet the beginning of 1926 has witnessed the announcement that both these enigmatic personalities are

considering a retirement from the political stage. One prominent figure of recent years has since retired by assassination, for "Little Hsu," the star character in many a dramatic episode, was murdered with the New Year at Lanfang. What does it all presage? Fortunately, the historian need not add to his responsibilities by trying the rôle of the prophet.

Two other changes affecting Asia should be recorded at this point. In Persia, Ahmad, the last Shah of the Kajar dynasty, was violently deposed in November by his powerful minister Reza Khan. The deposition was not unmerited as the ex-Shah had spent much of his time in luxurious living outside his dominions. Since then Reza Khan has followed up his action by proclaiming himself the first ruler of a new dynasty, the Pahlavi, thus seeking the revival of an old and once glorious name.

In Siam, two rather startling events followed rapidly the one upon the other. First, at the end of November 1925, King Rama VI rather summarily "demoted" his chief queen because of her failure to provide a male heir. Then came the birth of a daughter to the second queen, now "promoted." This was so much a cause of chagrin to King Rama that he became ill and died, at the age of 44 and after a reign of fifteen years. The deceased monarch, who is succeeded by Pracha Tipok, was known during his not unsuccessful reign as a patron of art, a translator of several of Shakespeare's plays, and an enthusiast over the Boy Scouts.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE DOMESTIC PROBLEMS OF CHINA AND JAPAN

Judging by the general voice of present-day Chinese agitation, it might be readily supposed that all the woes of that distracted country are the result of those infringements of sovereignty by foreigners to which reference has been made. Allowing for all that may be defensible in the plea, it would be unfair to the reader to pass over certain conditions in the Republic for which China herself must in the main be held responsible.

Some good things, it must be admitted, are the result of foreign contacts with China, even where the contacts themselves, in the circumstances under which they were made, are open to criticism. For instance, a large army of evangelists, teachers, nurses, and physicians have been laboring for over a hundred years, often at the sacrifice of health and life, to introduce the best they know to the use of the millions of China. Merchants and their agents have carried to China much besides opium and the unfair industrial conditions that are so often the chief objects of attention. The products of the Standard Oil and other companies, and the sewing machines of the Singer Company, to mention only these, have done much toward raising the standards of living in the Middle Kingdom. The concessions, as to which so many protests have been raised, have certainly made known ideas of sanitation and order which, though strange to the people of China, have not been unappreciated by the multitudes who have flocked within the concession limits. The foreign law-courts, again, which have been so bitterly

resented, have nevertheless afforded examples of speedy and even-handed justice, which have had their effect upon the jurisprudence of the Chinese. Moreover, a word is surely due in praise of the foreign heads of the maritime customs, the salt gabelle, and the post office for the efficiency which has been won out of chaos in these important services.

With this small tribute of praise, admitted as the just need of the foreigners for things that have been achieved in the way of amelioration and reform, must go some measure of blame for things still unattempted and undone by the Chinese themselves. One withholding that word could hardly be numbered among the true friends of China.

The world is, of course, aware of the tremendous handicap under which China has labored during recent years in the establishment of the Republic. Mr. Austen Chamberlain's reference to this in the British House of Commons is as true as it is sympathetic:[1] "The task was one of incomparable difficulty. Owing to the unwieldy size of China and the looseness of attachment of one province to another, and owing to the ingrained traditionalism and semi-independence of the great provincial governors who administer local government in large parts of her territory, it was a task which even in the best of circumstances must have tried the statesmanship and political sense of any country; and it was all complicated by the disturbing effect of the impact of Western ideas on an ancient Eastern civilization, where they fermented like new wines in old bottles. And to all this complication you have to add the growth of standing armies and military forces which have come to escape altogether the control of the Central Government, and which represent conflicting forces often involving China in civil war. Is it surprising in these circumstances . . . that in the short time that has elapsed it has not been resolved?"

One might add that there are many reforms which would seem almost inevitable to the Westerner, though the age-long

[1] Printed in Chinese and English in the *North China Herald*, July 4 and 11.

economic traditions of China make them exceedingly difficult of accomplishment. The sixty thousand ricksha-men of Peking, starving and shivering in the winter, sweltering in the summer, yet part of the daily economic life of the capital, seem a poor excuse for not putting a street-car system into the streets of Peking. The many thousands of water-coolies, toiling up the slimy steps from the Yang-tze to the gates of Wuchang, seem an equally inadequate explanation of the absence of waterworks in that teeming community. To the materialism of the West it seems unpardonable that the interests of the junk-men on the Yang-tze should stand as a bar to the common use of steamboats, or that the traditional rights of the boatmen everywhere should provide obstacles to the crisscrossing of the land with railways. Yet in all these cases the custom of ages possesses a *vis inertiæ* which even the radicals fail to overcome or even to appreciate.

Some things, however, there are for which the most sympathetic will be inclined to assert that China herself must shoulder the blame.

(*a*) The lack of political unity. Whether monarchy or republic, China might to-day be one of the mightiest of nations, winning easily from the Powers anything she might reasonably ask, were she at one. The distrust of most or all of the leaders who have proffered their services to China in recent years has been altogether out of proportion to their personal demerits. Even a moderately endowed leader, backed by the loyal support of a united people, might rise above his personal limitations and become great. But the political confusion of the country has made such a success impossible. Unhappily, in China to be moderately endowed is to invite the formation of a hostile cabal. Thus, very soon after the death of Sun Yat-sen the tenuous thread which connected the North and the South through the inclusion of two members of the Kuomintang in the Coalition Cabinet was rudely severed by the removal of Wang Chu-ling and Yang Shu-kan. The latter was Minister of Agriculture and Commerce for exactly fifty-five minutes.

(*b*) The replacing of the old-time scholar-statesman by the swashbuckling militarist. The tuchun or tupan [1] — under whatever name, he remains China's most sinister figure — has loomed all too large in China's politics since the days of Yuan Shih-kai. His methods are the methods of the bandit, and his soldiers become bandits with the greatest ease when their wages remain unpaid. The general lawlessness of the land, together with the recrudescence of opium cultivation and the resort to force in the attacks upon foreigners, are for the most part due to the toleration of these swaggering soldiers in a country which has no proper place for the soldier in the social system. The generally pacific demeanor of the Chinese peasant must not blind us either to the facts or to the consequences of the present orgy of martial activity.

(*c*) Sordid conditions of life in the country generally. These are, of course, largely due to the extremely narrow margin between living and starving, which is the lot of a considerable part of the Chinese population. Nevertheless it is not fair to blame the foreigner for the more squalid aspects of industrialization, since one finds the worst examples of this in cotton mills which are entirely controlled by Chinese and are outside the concessions. Nor are the worst offenders always the shareholders, greedy as these may be for dividends, but very commonly the parents, seeking to exploit the toil of their little ones.[2]

(*d*) The confusion in Chinese finance. China needs financial rehabilitation, not merely by the securing of tariff autonomy and the freeing of the land from foreign bondholders, but, in the first place, by using methods within her reach for escape from the present chaos. These methods include reform of the currency, at present the despair of every traveler from one province to another; the honest collection of the provincial revenues, so that the Central Government may be free to

[1] The latter name is at present favored; the thing is the same.

[2] Chinese mill-owners have told the writer of their experience of this. There is no reason to think them insincere.

discharge its obligations; the abolition of the likin [1] or transit dues, which now go to fatten the war-chests of the militarists; and the eradication of official corruption, which, it is generally acknowledged, is as rampant under the Republic as in the worst days of the Manchus.

(*e*) The lack of a truly national system of education. Something has, of course, been done in this direction, but it has too often been rendered futile by the diversion of funds to less legitimate purposes. The Government schools, though too frequently on strike or closed for lack of money, provide for the education of some 6,000,000 children. The private schools, that is, those supported by guilds or by individuals, provide opportunity for some 8,000,000 more. Mission schools not only provide for something over a quarter of a million others, but set the standards in curriculum and morale.[2] The Mass Education movement has already been referred to as an illustration of what a democracy in a hurry may be inspired to undertake. Yet much more is necessary to make China literate — less perhaps in the way of curriculum than in that of discipline and thoroughness. The eagerness of the modernist needs to be kept humble and teachable by reverence for the sages of the past.

At present China is full of those who see visions and dream dreams. The real need is for men of practical wisdom and constructive ability. It would seem unnecessary in China to

[1] Extended over China since 1863. Originally one tenth of one per cent, likin is in some cases to-day twenty per cent of the value of the goods taxed. The failure of the Chinese to abolish these transit dues, as promised, has hindered hitherto the granting of tariff autonomy. Morse declares that to-day, along the Grand Canal between Hangchow and Chinkiang, "likin stations, alternately collecting and preventive, are established at distances averaging ten miles one from the other; and in that part of Kiangsu lying south of the Yang-tze, there are over 250 stations, collecting and preventive." Woodhead says that the gross total of likin probably exceeds that collected by the maritime customs.

[2] Figures received indicate that a large proportion of the Chinese students are returning to the mission schools. Dr. P. W. Kuo gives the figures as follows: "The enrolment in Chinese schools in 1923 was 6,615,772 as against 558,953 in mission schools — a ratio of 8 to 1. See *Oriental Interpretations of the Far Eastern Problem*," p. 205.

preach from the text: "He that believeth shall not make haste," yet the present generation of Chinese schoolboys, anxious to turn Chinadom topsy-turvy in a day, do need the warning in a most emphatic degree.

In a country where great men have been — as the classics declare — "bulwarks," [1] it is to be hoped that the man with the mandate of Heaven is on his way. China, north, east, south, and west, is destined to be unified and governed by men rather than by laws. When this desirable day arrives, China will not need to plead with the West for autonomy. A rehabilitated China will naturally take her place among the great nations of the earth. Meanwhile, East and West must work to a common end, the East to meet the reasonable requirements of the West, and the West to deal equably and honestly with the East.

Among the countries of the Far East, China has no monopoly in the way of domestic problems. Those of Japan have been, perhaps, better concealed from the observation of the world, but they have been scarcely less serious. Japan's problems are of two kinds: first, those which may be termed economic, and secondly, those which may be classed as political.

Japan's economical problems [2] are associated primarily with the growth of her industrialization. This in turn was made necessary to meet the problem of overpopulation. In a subordinate degree there are the economic problems which have arisen out of post-war conditions. As in the Great Britain of an earlier day, Japan encountered the necessity of industrializing herself in order to support the half million or more extra mouths which had to be provided for annually. Industrialization brought with it urbanization, and urbanization in turn brought a number of ills such as feudal Japan had never known. On the surface there was enormous advance in the development of railways, in the expansion of shipping, and in the increase

[1] *The Book of Odes.*

[2] See article by the writer on "Living Conditions in Japan," in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Nov. 1925.

in the number of factories. Factories which in 1883 were 125 in number, employing 25,000 workmen, are to-day 30,000 in number, employing an army of over 2,000,000 men, women, and children. By the end of 1921, eighty-four civic corporations had been supplied with modern waterworks. In spite of the opposition of the agriculturists, who grudged the loss of the night-soil for their farms, a sewerage system for Tokyo has been begun and will probably be part of the reconstructed capital.

Yet, with all this expansion there has been loss. Physically there has been deterioration through the transference of men and women from a healthy country-life to the confinement of the factories. Æsthetically there has been loss through the abandonment of many of the old handicrafts in favor of machine-made articles. Morally there has been loss through the temptations to which a large number of the factory workers have succumbed. In a certain period it was recently found that forty-nine per cent of the delinquent girls arrested in Osaka were factory workers. Much mischief has arisen from the large proportion of children — especially girl children — employed. Among these, too, there has been a large increase in tuberculosis and other preventable diseases. The barrack-like dormitories provided for the workers are bad hygienically. In many cases no special provision is made, but workers sleep in the attic or some other part of the factory itself. In 357 factories no provision of a sick room is made, and a physician is in attendance in only eight establishments. A factory law, embodying many reforms, came into force in September 1916, but the law applies only to establishments employing over fifteen persons regularly and to those engaged in dangerous and unhealthy work. Even in these cases the law has not always been enforced. According to this law, the maximum number of hours is twelve. Children under fifteen and women are regarded as protected workers, and are further relieved. At least two holidays a month must be allowed the women and the child workers, and at least thirty minutes' rest within the first six hours of labor. Night work is not permitted for protected

workers, except in the case of newspaper work and such as does not permit of holding over — as, for instance, the selling of meat and vegetables. Other ameliorative provisions are included, and there is a system of workmen's compensation whereby the permanent invalid is paid not less than one hundred and seventy times his daily wage. In case of death, ten yen are added for funeral expenses. Ordinary sickness is given medical attention till cured. Under this law there has been considerable improvement in the factory situation, and the number of women and girl workers in the factories has been considerably reduced. There is, however, still much to be done in the way of supplying better food and better sleeping accommodation in these establishments.[1]

In the mines of Japan living conditions are far from being ideal. Mr. Bunji Suzuki gives us an appalling picture of these conditions as they were in 1921: "In 1917 the number of women employed in the mines of Japan were 70,000. To-day that number is greater by 60,000. Most of these are between sixteen and twenty years of age, and they work in the pits along with the men. . . . Twenty per cent of all the laborers in the coal mines to-day are women. . . . They work in the bowels of the earth, naked like the men, wearing only a little breechclout. There is no ventilation, and no discipline in their surroundings. They are so like animals that they can hardly be called human." [2]

On the whole, agriculture presents a more cheerful picture, though here too Japan has serious problems awaiting solution. Seventy per cent of the Japanese people are engaged in agriculture, and of these seventy per cent again are tenant farmers. A number of people equal to half the population of the United States has to be supported on one twentieth of the area of our own country. Japan has labored valiantly by the reclamation of hitherto unused land and by intensive methods of farming to increase the productiveness of her soil, but the constant drift

[1] See *The Japan Year Book*, ch. XIII.
[2] Quoted by Galen Fisher, *Creative Forces in Japan*, p. 71.

to the city has made the labor problem difficult. Where the farmers could once command the services of the peasantry through the influence of the feudal system, the peasants are now too independent to be relied upon. Here too the labor fight is on, and tenant-farmer unions to the number of over five hundred have sprung up all over the empire. As in other countries, so in Japan, the contrast between the wealthy exploiters of labor — especially the nouveaux riches spawned so prolifically during the war — and the common laborers has caused a great deal of discontent. On this discontent the Labor Movement and Socialism have thriven. This is shown in the increase of strikes. In 1914 there were only 50 strikes, involving 7984 workers.[1] In 1913 there were 417, involving 66,457 workers. Since then there have been less, owing to the great increase in unemployment. Labor organization began in Japan in 1890 with the formation of the Printers' Union, but it was seven years later before the Labor Union system proper was introduced. In 1912 the Yuai-kai was founded, expanded later into the General Federation of Japanese Labor. At the end of 1922 there were 389 unions with a membership of 130,000. The principal objects which were pressed at the general meeting of 1922 were: a 48-hour week, a minimum-wage scale, the abolition of night work, the recognition of Soviet Russia, and the May-day holiday. Some of these points have already been conceded.

The Socialist Party has undoubtedly increased its activities in Japan during recent years. Discrimination must, however, be made between the various brands of Socialism — Marxist, State Socialist, Christian Socialist, Syndicalist, and Anarchist. The last two types are "strictly controlled." It may be feared that some of the methods used for suppressing Socialism since the dissolution of the Union in 1921 have simply had the effect of driving it underground.

In spite of the new place won by labor in Japanese industry, unemployment has been in these last years all too common.

[1] See Fisher, *op. cit.*, pp. 79 *ff.*

Some improvement is at present being manifested. The economic depression was first felt in the industrial and mining districts in 1920, and later extended itself to office clerks and petty officials. The Government for a time came to the rescue in order to avoid a national catastrophe. Later came the necessary decision to curtail production, and the unemployment situation grew rapidly worse. In one year there were 934,315 workmen discharged to 794,952 who were newly engaged; but in 1922 the number employed exceeded the number discharged. To a certain extent the evil of unemployment was increased by the reduction of naval construction entailed by the provisions of the Washington Conference.

The wage situation [1] in Japan is still unsatisfactory, though some improvement is shown since 1920. Stonecutters get as much as 3.3 yen daily; male day-laborers 2.13; female day-laborers 1.14; male servants 19.44 yen per month; female servants 16.46; female reelers in the silk factories 1.06 yen daily; and female match-makers .85. The present writer in 1923 was struck with the comparatively low salaries of teachers and university professors. Some quite distinguished men were compelled to teach extra hours, in several institutions, in order to make ends meet.

Many forms of welfare work [2] are seeking the amelioration of living conditions in Japan. These are, generally speaking, of three kinds. First, there are the Imperial charities, which — especially on occasions of public calamity — are extraordinarily generous. Secondly, there are the administrative agencies, which provide for the insane and tubercular, for the care of refractory boys, the care of lepers, the blind, deaf-mutes, discharged prisoners, and the like. Relief of this type is given to the decrepit above the age of seventy, and to the physically disabled, to children under thirteen, and to invalids. Under this head come also the coöperative societies established by the law of 1900, and the credit societies. In April 1924 the Central Bank of Coöperative Societies was established, and it

[1] See *Year Book*, pp. 239 *ff.* [2] See *Year Book*, ch. XI.

promises to be of great value. Mutual-aid societies are organized in connection with almost all Government establishments. Disbursements are made in case of death, injury, diligent service, and, on leaving service, also for medical expenses. On the Government railways all employés pay three per cent of their monthly wages and the State adds two per cent of the aggregate. The third type of welfare work is that carried on by private individuals or by voluntary associations, many of them of a religious character. In this work both Christians and Buddhists are active. The latter use many methods which were first introduced by the former. There are now 77 public hospitals, 1260 private (mostly quite small), and 23 charity hospitals, besides those designed to receive cases of infectious disease. A growing number of the large mercantile establishments are now doing welfare work. They provide for their employés doctors, nurses, playgrounds, entertainment halls, and the like. One of the most hopeful signs in modern Japan is the effort which is being made to head off the evils of modern industrialism by increased care for the physical and moral well-being of the nation's manhood and womanhood. This, together with the immense importance attached to education and the provision for this in an efficient system of schools from the kindergarten upward to the university and technical college, is of good omen to those who believe Japan capable of solving her present domestic problems.

It was while these and other problems were being seriously and courageously attacked that an almost crushing blow came upon the Far Eastern Empire in the terrible earthquake [1] and fire of September 1, 1923 and the days succeeding. The great shock overwhelmed a large section of Japan, including the densely populated cities of Tokyo, Yokohama, Yokosuka, and Odawara. In all probability the most disastrous earthquake in human history, — having reference both to the material damage and the loss of human life, — it came upon Japan and the world with stunning force. The loss of life is still unknown, though it

[1] See Earthquake Supplement, *Year Book*, 1924–25.

was ascertained that in Tokyo alone 60,000 persons were killed. In Yokohama the known dead numbered over 25,000. About 40,000 lost their lives in Tokyo by fire on the piece of ground formerly occupied by the clothing department of the army. The good side of the calamity immediately made itself apparent in the vast wave of sympathy which swept over the world and brought help from every quarter. The amount of relief contributed by the United States alone amounted to over $7,500,000, including $1,500,000 raised by Japanese residents in America. The rapidity and efficiency with which relief was distributed were equally welcome, and the American Ambassador, Mr. Woods, won a permanent place in the heart of Japan by the worthy way in which he represented his country through a great emergency.

A further glimpse of the silver lining to the cloud — one of the darkest that ever overspread a nation's firmament — was seen in the opportunity afforded to Tokyo and the adjacent cities to reconstruct themselves in accordance with modern conditions and with the prospect of greater security in the future. Professor Charles Beard, early in 1923, had been consulted by the mayor of Tokyo with respect to much-needed municipal improvements. Recalled to Japan immediately after the earthquake, Dr. Beard had a unique and unexpected opportunity to press some of his plans upon the authorities.[1] At this date it may be said that, whatever may be the changes made, a greater Yokohama and a greater Tokyo, perhaps united as one city, will rise out of the ruins of 1923. Even now the recovery has been marvelous. Indeed, six months after the catastrophe Tokyo showed a reduction in her population of less than half a million from the figures of July 1923.

The earthquake had less political effect than might have been expected. The Yamamoto Cabinet took office by candlelight during the catastrophe itself. The wedding of the Prince Regent Hirohito with the Princess Nagako, for which great preparations had been made, was postponed till January 1924.

[1] *The Administration and Politics of Tokyo*, Charles Beard.

An attempt to assassinate the Prince Regent on his way to the Diet on December 27 was fortunately unsuccessful, and seemed to have been merely the work of private madness. The Yamamoto Cabinet gave way to that of Kiyoura on the first of January, and it was this Ministry which had to stand the stress and strain which attended the passing of the American Immigration Bill through the United States Congress on March 25 and April 12. Ambassador Hanihara's letter of April 11 was made the excuse for summary Senatorial action, though it is now plain that the language of the letter was misunderstood. For a time feeling ran high on both sides of the Pacific. Good sense, however, was not wanting in official quarters, and the blow was softened by mutual assurances. The Kiyoura Cabinet fell and, after the general election of May 10, gave place on June 11, 1924 to the Kato Ministry.[1] So far the main achievements of the latter have been the signing of the Russo-Japanese Treaty, already alluded to, and the passing of the Manhood Suffrage Bill. This must be regarded as one of the most important steps in the history of Japan toward democratic control. It places the destinies of the country in the hands of a new and hitherto untried element. The next election, with an electorate of 12,000,000 instead of the present 3,000,000, may bring many changes such as cannot at present be foreseen. With the dark cloud of unemployment still over the land, with the price of rice rising, and literal starvation in certain districts, there is much need for wise statesmanship and for civic fortitude.

[1] Viscount Kato, Premier of Japan, died in Tokyo on Jan. 27, 1926. He was born in 1859. He has been succeeded by Mr. Wakatsuki.

CHAPTER XXV

THE WEST IN THE EAST — POLITICAL AND COMMERCIAL RELATIONS

From what has been said and from the situations described the inference may be drawn that a rather definite halt has been called in the work of bringing East and West together. By its immigration laws the West has served notice upon the East that her peoples are on this side unwelcome. Numerous movements here and there in the East would seem to indicate that the Western man is not particularly desired as a resident in the Orient. The present agitation in China is a case in point. Another is the lack of cordiality — to use the mildest term — with which British rule is regarded by large masses of the people of India. The same story comes from the Levant as to the feeling of the Druses and Syrians toward the French. Even in the Philippines there is an articulate element which declares itself anxious to forgo the advantages of American tutelage.

No doubt extremists in many quarters would welcome for purposes of their own the antithesis of Alexander's marriage of East and West.[1] Some would have an Orient and an Occident as far apart in sympathy as they are separated physically by the breadth of the mightiest of oceans. Yet the logic of history, happily for the world, makes such a divorce of interest unlikely almost to impossibility. Whatever may be the fate of British, French, Dutch, or American rule in Asia, the changes are likely to come gradually rather than catastrophically. The

[1] When Alexander at Susa, with a hundred of his officers and ten thousand of his soldiers, took Asiatic brides, to bring about the union of East and West.

future will be, in its main lines, continuous with the past. With or without territorial domination, the West is hardly likely to lose its consciousness of the continent which for so many centuries has cast her unfailing spell on the rest of the world.

The relations of the East to the West have appeared all along in history. We cannot turn a page without coming across evidence of their vital influence upon the human story. The triumph of Christianity itself was the victory of the East — considered historically. The Greeks who attempted to Hellenize the East fell themselves under the spell of the Orient. The Romans did the same. As a recent writer has said:[1] "The penetration of the East into the West . . . was at last so complete that the Orontes and the Nile were pouring their waters into the Tiber." And again: "Under the Roman Peace the merchants, bankers, and exporters were largely Oriental. Industrially the East supplied the manufactured articles which Italy and the West needed. It was the wealth of the Orient that first under Alexander introduced luxury and extravagance into the West, and again during the Republican wars of conquest. And it was Oriental treasures that stimulated the taste and paid for Oriental articles of luxury — unguents, attars, tapestries of Damascus, silks of China, spices of Arabia. The large and numerous Greek-Asiatic cities throughout Asia enjoyed great prosperity in catering for the taste of the West, and with their material wares their merchants carried also the things of the spirit." Cumont[2] maintains that "the history of the Empire during the first three Christian centuries resolves itself into a pacific penetration of the Occident by the Orient."

As soon as we appreciate all this, we shall not think it strange that history has had its return waves in the form of Western penetration of the Orient. So far from this promising to cease abruptly, there is every reason to believe that the momentum of this penetration must increase as the years go by. For a world knit together by wireless is no longer to be divided by its oceans.

[1] Dr. S. Angus, *The Mystery Religions and Christianity*, pp. 156 *ff.*
[2] See Cumont, *Religions orientales dans le paganisme romain.*

In this and the following chapter we shall try to consider some of the contacts which the West has established with the East. We shall consider them under the three heads of political, commercial, and religious relations, including under the last heading the subject of education. The present chapter will confine itself to relations political and commercial.

What are we to say of the political relations of the Occident with the Orient? It is plain that they have already passed through several stages. First, there was the stage of military conquest, or at least of acquisition of territory by force. This was generally accompanied by commercial exploitation, sometimes also by great zeal for religion. The stage is marked also by an assumption of racial and cultural superiority on the part of the conquerors. Military occupation was followed by a period of political domination, during which the interests mainly considered were those of the invaders. At the same time there was a growing sense of responsibility for the welfare of the subjugated, and for the maintenance of orderly standards of living. The gift of these conditions to the natives was supposed to be sufficient justification for the occupation.

Later on came a period of government more obviously planned in the interest of and with the coöperation of the governed. It was due in part to a growing feeling of responsibility on the part of the rulers, and in part to an increasing consciousness of rights — due itself to the teaching of the rulers — on the part of the ruled.

So we approach the recognition of the principle which has been explicitly followed in the mandate plan of the League of Nations. Responsibility for the government of this or that region is accepted as the discharge of an obligation by the strong to bear the burdens of the weak, for the express purpose of training the weak to independence and strength.

Asia still has her illustrations of most of these stages. Without criticism of any one policy it may be said that, due to various causes, certain regions still require a larger measure of

direct government by the foreigner than do others. It would be foolish to maintain that precisely the same measure of self-determination could be bestowed immediately upon French Indo-China, British India, the Philippines, and the Dutch East Indies. But the same principle is being increasingly accepted by all the Powers which have relations with Asia. In the long run, it is felt, government must be carried on only with the consent of the governed. Present conditions must be viewed as marking a stage in the training of peoples for complete self-determination.

For France and Holland so far the recognition of the above-mentioned principle has not passed beyond the elementary stages. In cases such as those of Indo-China, the Dutch East Indies, and — to a certain extent — India, the large differences in creed, language, and race may serve to justify long periods of foreign control, during which the variant elements are being welded into a sense of nationhood. In some parts of the French dominions it may seem uncertain if even the stage of conquest has come to its end. The Druse rebellion in Northern Syria, though the rebellion of a tribe under mandate, may seem to some a sign that the French colonial system is here and there cracking rather badly.

In British India a very difficult period of transition is being slowly carried through. It has been one of the results of British occupation that a common government and the use of a common language have made nationality possible to an extent never before attained. Most legislation in recent years has gone to the strengthening of national consciousness. That wonderful spectacle of June 18, 1925, when the funeral procession of the Swarajist [1] leader, Mr. C. R. Das, passed through the streets of Calcutta, with Gandhi, naked but for a loin-cloth, borne aloft in the arms of his disciples, was in large part possible only because of what Great Britain has done for India. The national movement may be one upon which the present Administration looks with misgiving, but the rulers of India cannot

[1] Swaraji is literally "self-rule."

fail to recognize that they themselves have contributed to its depth and strength. The General Council of the Swarajist movement has now met and elected Pundit Neuru as Mr. Das's successor, but the attitude of the new leader is not yet clear.[1] It is stated also that much depends upon the reception given in England to Mrs. Annie Besant's proposed new constitution for India, upon which Liberals, Independents, and Swarajists are disposed to unite.

The situation in the Philippines brings home to us our own share in the recognition of the principle we have described. There is no misunderstanding as to the terms upon which our occupation of the Philippine Islands is based. Our Government officials are not resisting the independence movement except in so far as they believe that for the advantage of the islanders a longer period of American tutelage is necessary. On the other hand, the Filipino leaders are not unmindful of the benefits which this tutelage has brought them. "We should remark in passing," says one of these, in an address before the House of Representatives at Washington, February 15, 1923, "that the independence movement in the Philippines has about it nothing that can be called seditious, and so far, at least, no flaw has appeared in the allegiance of the people to the United States. The most vehement agitator never injects into his harangue charges of injustice or oppression. Affection for America is widespread, and so far as the alien visitor can determine, quite genuine, due in great measure to the really excellent school system the Americans introduced and maintained, and to the unexampled latitude of self-government provided in the Jones Act. Washington's birthday and the Fourth of July are celebrated throughout the islands with enthusiasm, and when the United States entered the Great War, the Filipinos everywhere gave rather remarkable evidence of loyalty. Perhaps to the sense of gratitude may be ascribed part of the once common hope that independence might be granted on such terms as Cuba

[1] In the Swarajist movement of Bengal Mr. Das's successor is Mr. Sengupta, who announces himself as an extremist.

obtained, with American guaranties and protection — a hope slowly fading before the eyes of enlightened Filipinos. Independence with or without protection is now the slogan; a majority of the inhabitants are becoming well prepared to risk complete national separation." [1]

The trend in Asia is evidently toward one goal, whatever may be the satisfaction the winning of that goal may procure. It may still be good for both East and West that the path toward this goal be trodden warily — in certain cases more slowly than in others. The time is surely coming when, instead of the world being divided into conquering and subjugated races, there shall be such a measure of international government, expressive of a common policy and a common morality, as shall make the world safe for democracy and democracy safe for the world, to an extent unimaginable at the time of the Great War.

Parallel with the political conquest of Asia by the West we may set the matter of commercial exploitation. The idea at the back of the one was the same as that at the back of the other. The same ruthless disregard for the rights and interests of Asiatics was displayed by the merchant as by the soldier. It was made plain that lands might be subjugated by trade as well as by the sword. It was made evident that there might be forced upon a country imports which were dangerous to both its physical and its moral health. The traffic in arms and opium rather forcibly illustrates this. It was made clear, again, that foreign capital might be employed in building up a huge system of industrialism (as in China), demoralizing and enslaving to the native population.

Since the commencement of treaty relations with the Far East immense developments have taken place. These have been in two directions. First, we see business increasing in bulk and value. Secondly, we note tendencies toward a higher business morality.

[1] The Honorable Jaime C. de Veyra, speech issued from the Government Printing Office, Washington, 1923.

As to bulk, the figures speak for themselves. The student should consult the Year Books respectively of China and Japan. The following facts are worth remembering as samples. In the last twenty years the soya bean has emerged from obscurity to a place in Chinese exports second only to silk. The aggregate annual value of the crop is not less than $100,000,000. Seventy per cent of this crop comes out of Manchuria. The United States trade with China in recent years is reflected in the fact that China now possesses 400 electric power plants, uses 225,000,000 gallons of kerosene, and smokes 60,000,000,000 cigarettes. In 1923 the United States claimed 30 per cent of China's exports and 20 per cent of her imports. There are important American Chambers of Commerce in Shanghai, Tientsin, Hankow, and Peking. In 1893 the shipping of Japan did not exceed 15,000 tons; in May 1920 the tonnage was given as 4,144,774.

Nothing is likely to interfere with the continuous development of trade between all the countries of the Pacific rim. The United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, China, India, Japan — all have need of one another's natural and manufactured products. The problems of commerce, including those of capital and labor, will tend to reproduce themselves on an ever-enlarging scale, becoming all the time less local and national, more international and general.

Happily, moreover, the tendency appears to be in directions less and less selfish, as the interests of all mankind are seen to be bound more and more closely together. Dishonest and unfair methods will be more and more discarded as it is recognized that the cheating of one party is eventually robbery of both. Even a policy like that of the Open Door — possibly in the first instance conceived in the interests of American Far Eastern trade — will take on a certain idealistic and altruistic character when it is framed in a spirit of fairness to other nations.

The industrialization of the Orient can never be for long the refuge of a greedy capitalism which seeks in China what it may no longer find in the West. Nor may the machinery of the

West be sent to the Orient without assisting the equalization of conditions for labor the whole world over. Traffic in arms for the purpose of stimulating rebellion and promoting in foreign lands a profitable militarism will cease to be tolerated as soon as international commerce understands its proper advantage.

This trend toward a higher morality may be illustrated by reference to two modern instances which come naturally within the scope of the present chapter.

First, we have the case of foreign capital in China. Under ordinary circumstances the investment of foreign capital in China has proved safe and productive. Railways paid from the beginning, since they were built through regions highly populated and intensively cultivated. Distrust of foreign capital came when it was seen that political significance was attached to loans. The policy of the so-called "spheres of influence," built up on railway concessions, made all China suspicious. Even when the spheres-of-influence policy gave way to some measure of international coöperation, the lending of money, as by the Consortium, was viewed with misgiving — misgiving which is still far from being dispelled. It was perceived that business contracts might tie China up as effectually as treaties. Trouble was only too possible through seeking the interest of foreign bondholders rather than the interest of China. One foreign nation might be played off against another, so making China an arena of war between two nations neither of whom had any right to fight upon her soil. Foreign supervision of Chinese revenues was made inevitable, to ensure the payment of the interest on her loans. Yet, as Mr. J. V. McMurray writes:[1] "With the Consortium available as a means of international coöperation, and with the Open Door principle of fair play accepted and defined by mutual agreement, the way is open for a healthy and normal development of the resources and opportunities of China, through the participation of foreign capital on a genuinely economic basis, to the advantage of China at least as much as to the profit of foreign investors."

[1] J. V. McMurray, in *Foreign Affairs*, April 1925.

Mr. McMurray adds: "The way in which foreign capital meets its responsibilities in serving the ends of the new China will, more than any other factor, determine the solution of that greatest of all problems confronting mankind — the relationship that is to exist between the civilizations of the East and the West."

Secondly, we have the case of the Opium Conferences at Geneva, 1924–25. Among post-war problems the opium question appeared as one which had reached a new phase. The recrudescence of poppy-growing in China[1] was a great disappointment to a world that had appreciated China's efforts to rid herself of the plague prior to the Revolution. "By 1923–24 poppy-growing had become universal throughout China, with the single exception of Shansi province."[2] Militarists were compelling the cultivation of the drug in order to obtain larger revenues from the taxation of the peasants. Officials everywhere, for the same reason, were conniving at the traffic. Different views were meanwhile being taken of the use of opium in different countries. Its consumption in China and by Chinese in Siam, Malaysia, and the Dutch East Indies was generally regarded as degrading. In India the case was somewhat different.[3] There the use was medical or quasi-medical, — to avert or lessen fatigue, as a specific in bowel-complaint, as a prophylactic against malaria, — and so more doubtfully baneful to health and morals. The Indian Government took the position that the export of opium from India was an international matter, and so exported none except to Governments certifying that the opium was required for legitimate purposes. No Indian opium was ever sent to America. As to the production of opium for home consumption, India took the position that this was a domestic question. United States interest in

[1] China is now the largest opium-producing country in the world, her output being eight times that of all the rest of the world together. In 1923 she produced between thirteen and fourteen thousand tons, more than twelve times the amount produced by India.

[2] Buell, *The International Opium Conferences*, p. 49.

[3] John Campbell, "The Opium Question and America," *Asiatic Review*, Jan. 1924.

the discussion was stimulated by the increase in the number of drug addicts in America as well as by her desire to heal one of the world's open sores.

Yet the Conference was brought about by the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium of the League of Nations, in which the United States was represented only in an "unofficial and consultative capacity." The Committee recommended the calling of Conferences to consider (*a*) the suppression of opium smoking, (*b*) the limitation of the manufacture of opium products.

The first Conference met on November 3, 1924. Eight governments were represented, namely, those of Great Britain, France, China, Japan, India, the Netherlands, Portugal, and Siam. The United States did not participate, since it was claimed that the problem of opium-smoking did not concern the Philippines. China was regarded with much concern as the country from which fifty to ninety per cent of the exported drug came. She admitted the impeachment, but promised amendment as soon as a stable government was once again in existence. The second Conference was opened on November 17, the United States being represented by a delegation including Congressmen Stephen Porter and Bishop Brent. Viscount Cecil offered the British proposal that opium-smoking should be abolished in the British Far Eastern territories within a period of fifteen years from the date of the effective control of the traffic by China within her own borders. The question of effective suppression was to be determined by the League of Nations. The United States delegation was not satisfied with this proposal, desiring something more drastic, though possibly less practical. The American delegates withdrew from the Conference on February 6, 1925, and were followed by the Chinese members on the next day.

Nevertheless, the Conference continued its work, and, through the Committee of Sixteen, reported two protocols. One of these, signed by the States of the first Conference, obligated the signatory nations to put an end to opium-smoking within fifteen

years after sufficient progress had been shown in the suppression of smuggling. The other placed upon the signatory Powers the responsibility for controlling the production and distribution of raw opium, so as to prevent smuggling.[1]

The Conferences must not be regarded as failures because of the clash between the idealism of the United States and the practicality of the British and Indian Governments. Seventeen governments out of twenty-one signed the final acts of the second Conference. The Convention remained open till the beginning of October 1925 for the signatures of those who had hitherto abstained. "The most practical gains of the 1925 agreement," says Mr. Buell,[2] "relate to the international control of the drug traffic." The export certificate is now embodied in an international agreement. Free ports are also to be supervised to prevent illicit traffic.

[1] Buell, in *Foreign Affairs*, July 1925.
[2] Buell, *The International Opium Conferences*, p. 117.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE WEST IN THE EAST — EDUCATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS RELATIONS

In the last chapter we discussed the political and commercial influence of the West upon the East, particularly in reference to a general trend toward better conceptions of international relations. We reserved for this chapter the discussion of two other kinds of relation, namely, the educational and the religious. Since, however, most of the educational efforts put forth by the West in the Far East have had a religious motive and have been for the most part supported in connection with religious propaganda, the two phases of Western influence may conveniently be considered together. In fact, the whole story of Christian effort in the Orient will fall naturally under the following heads: Educational, Medical, Industrial, and Evangelistic.

First, let us summarize the story of Western influence in the Orient educationally. In India education has had less of the missionary element than in China or Japan. This follows, of course, from the fact that the Indian Government has always regarded itself as responsible for Indian education and has been careful not to interfere with the religious beliefs and practices of the people any more than was absolutely necessary. For the same reason no system of education has been made compulsory, at least in British India. Yet from the beginning the system introduced was Western — probably too Western, following upon the recommendation of Macaulay's famous Minute.[1] To

[1] Thomas Babington Macaulay (Lord Macaulay), while a member of the Supreme Council of India, 1834–37, settled the controversy as to the employment of public funds for the teaching in English or in the Oriental languages, by a remarkable paper arguing for the use of English.

some this has been one of the marks of its comparative failure, since it fitted Indian students only for journalistic, political, or clerkly careers. In spite of everything it became amazingly popular, and even the designation "Failed B. A., University of Calcutta" has been considered a mark of some distinction. The mistaken tendencies of the past, whatever their kind or degree, are now being rapidly corrected. "Primary, industrial, and agricultural education are now taking the place of that senseless routine which for so many years did nothing more enlightened than to turn out Government clerks with the B. A. degree attached to their names."[1]

Missionary schools, of course, are playing an important part in supplementing or correcting the work of the Government schools, especially through the attention they are devoting to the training of character in addition to the training of intelligence.

It is fair to add that the influence of the Western schools has spread quite extensively into the native States. Excellent systems of public education have been established in such States as Hyderabad and Baroda. In the latter State what was supposed to be impossible has been achieved, namely, the putting into operation of compulsory education. At least, just before the war, out of 280,000 children of school age 180,000 were attending.

In China the missionaries were first in the field — a field of extraordinary promise in the light of the traditional Chinese estimate of the scholar. Till practically the last decade or so missionary schools have been alone in representing Western educational ideals. Recently, however, the professional educators have been active. The formation of the National Association for the Promotion of Education was one of the notable events of 1921. The visits of such prominent American educators as Dr. Paul Monroe and Dr. John Dewey, not to speak of equally distinguished scholars from Great Britain, France, and Germany, have had tremendous if not revolutionary

[1] See *The Modernizing of the Orient*, p. 160.

results. In some respects the heady wine of Western ideas has had not a little to do with the present prevailing unrest. Another notable result of American interest in the education of China is to be found in the Tsing Hua College of Peking, founded in 1911 as a result of the remission by the United States of the balance of $10,000,000 due from the Boxer indemnity fund. The college trains boys in Western methods of education, and a certain number of its graduates are sent annually to American universities to complete their education along their chosen lines.

The missionary colleges of China under foreign direction are over fifty in number, without including the hundreds of schools which afford opportunities for education below the university grade. Such institutions as St. John's University (Shanghai), Canton Christian College, Boone University (Wuchang), Yale-in-China (Changsha), Peking University, and others of excellent standing, have done an immense amount for the making of the new China. In spite of strikes and a disaffection toward Christian instruction which probably mark only a passing phase, these institutions are still the models toward which the truest friends of China are looking with hope.[1]

In Japan Western education has been valued from the time when certain students became, as they phrased it, "mad with Dutch." Before the beginning of Meiji, Mr. Fukuzawa founded (1856) the university of Keio in Tokyo for the express purpose of introducing Western learning. He began with Dutch, but was soon led to adopt English, teaching himself the language from a Dutch-English dictionary. With the beginning of Meiji after 1867 Western education soon became popular. Doshisha was founded in Kyoto in 1875 by the celebrated Christian teacher, Joseph Niishima,[2] fresh from his American experiences. Since then many other Christian colleges have been established. One need only recall St. Paul's (Tokyo), the Aoyama Gakuin (Tokyo), and the Christian College at Kobe, as

[1] See *The China Year Book.*

[2] See *Life of Joseph Hardy Niishima*, by Jerome Dean Davis.

samples. They have had untold influence upon both the standards and the curriculum of the Japanese educational system. American teachers have been sought from the beginning, and a few are still retained on the faculty of the Imperial universities. On the whole it may be stated that Western teachers have succeeded so well in Japan that the need of privately supported schools is diminishing year by year. Special hostels for the care and instruction of Christian students are being regarded with increasing favor, while general education is considered safe with the Government system.

What is the influence upon the East of Western medicine? Very early in the history of missionary endeavor it was perceived that there was no better key to the confidence of Oriental peoples than by using Western knowledge and skill for the healing of the ills and infirmities of the body. The Orient is proverbially ignorant and careless in matters of health and sanitation. Disease stalks abroad undisguised, and in forms which are sometimes almost sanctified. The temples are often loathsome with leprosy and other repulsive maladies. Hence there is no work which is strategically more worth while, or more striking in its results, than that carried on by the great army of physicians and nurses who have consecrated themselves to the stupendous task of curing the bodily ills of Asia.

In India — to refer only to two or three outstanding instances — medical missions have had their place from the time when John Thomas, the fervent but eccentric companion of William Carey, went out in 1783. Since then skill and devotion have been singularly combined in a multitude of cases. To tell the story of men like Dr. Strachan of Rangoon, or of women like Dr. Edith Brown of the Northwest School of Medicine, or Dr. Alice Marvell, who died at Cawnpore in 1904, would be to open up one of the most romantic and thrilling volumes of missionary history.

In China, again, this type of missionary work begins with the story of lay-brother Bernard Rhodes, who worked with the Jesuits and died in Peking in 1715. He ministered to all

classes of sufferers, from the Emperor downward, and earned the true affection of the Chinese people. Among the earliest Protestant missionaries, Dr. Peter Parker, who arrived in 1835, was one of the most notable. From his time a ceaseless procession of men and women has devoted itself to this beneficent work. There are now few cities of any size which have not a hospital maintained by one or other of the Christian denominations. One of the most useful of foreign institutions in all China is the Peking Union Medical College, controlled by the Rockefeller Foundation, with six missionary societies represented on its Board. The College was opened as recently as 1921, in the presence of Cabinet Ministers and other representatives of Chinese officialdom. At the present time the faculty and assistants number forty-one foreigners and thirty-eight Chinese. The teachers are graduates of forty medical colleges and represent nine different nationalities. There are also twenty-five teachers in the pre-medical and nursing departments. One interesting feature of the college is that the staff members take no private practice, but devote their full time to the service of the institution. In October 1924 there were 208 students taking courses, while the year 1923–24 saw 113 doctors and nurses doing post-graduate work. Eventually it is hoped that the college and hospital may be put entirely under Chinese control and made a part of the Chinese educational system.[1]

Even before the action of the Rockefeller Foundation the Chinese had proved themselves capable pupils of the West in the matter of medicine. One has only to recall the names of such Chinese as Dr. Mary Stone, Dr. Ida Kahn, and Dr. Mary Chang — to mention only women — to feel that the expectations formed in this direction have been abundantly justified.

In the case of Japan much the same may be said of medicine that was said of education. Beginning as the disciple of the West, Japan has now become a student of medical science on equal terms with her teachers. Saint Francis Xavier used the

[1] See Rockefeller Foundation, *Annual Report.*

healing art on his arrival in 1549. The Dutch physicians, though with no deliberately missionary purpose, did a great deal toward stimulating Japanese curiosity in the eighteenth century. With the reintroduction of Christianity after the Restoration, we have the famous pioneer missionary doctor, J. C. Hepburn. Since then the work has been done so thoroughly that the Japanese are able to carry it on with the minimum of foreign assistance. Yet institutions such as St. Luke's International Hospital still bear witness to the standards which have been introduced and are being maintained.

A third branch of missionary work and one of comparatively recent introduction is the industrial. This is more especially to be found in China, where, in many of the mission stations, women are being taught cross-stitch embroidery and other kinds of beautiful needlework, with a fair price paid for piecework, medical attention as needed, rest-rooms, and the like. Men likewise are being taught work under better sanitary conditions than prevail in their own homes — work from which a decent livelihood may be secured. The object is not merely to teach work under these better living conditions, but also to put a check on the factory system with its appalling child-labor, its ill-fenced machinery, its long shifts, seven-day working week, and miserable pay. Interesting illustrations of this kind of missionary work are to be seen in many religious institutions in various parts of China.

All the above-mentioned departments are, of course, regarded as to a large extent ancillary to the evangelistic. Important as are the efforts to deal with the needs of mind and body and of the social life, the great aim of the missionary is after all the awakening and satisfying of needs which are spiritual. The history of evangelism in Asia would make a formidable volume. Here we must be content with the barest hint as to its interest and its magnitude.

Christian missions have gone eastward into Asia almost as persistently, if not as successfully, as they went westward into

Europe. There is early testimony to the preaching of several of the Apostles in Asia, outside of Palestine. The connection of Saint Thomas with the Indo-Scythian kingdom of Gondophorus, in the northwest of India, is in all probability something more than legend. The missionary career of Nestorius, after his condemnation by the Council of Ephesus, 431 A.D., had momentous results in Syria, in Persia, and as far east as China. We have already drawn attention to the mission of Olupun to the court of the T'ang emperors, and the erection of the famous Nestorian monument in 781 A.D. No less significant is the missionary work of the Friars Minor through Tatary to the court of the Great Khans in the thirteenth century, and the establishment of an archbishopric with four suffragans at Peking. The society founded by Ignatius Loyola in 1534, again, was instrumental in sending eastward the Apostle to the Indies, Saint Francis Xavier. Born in the same year in which Columbus died, Xavier discovered a new world for Christian missions in Goa, Malacca, and Japan, not to mention the heroic attempt to break through the brazen gates of the Middle Kingdom. The Jesuit movement inspired also the sending of Dominicans to China, Franciscans to Tatary, and other Orders to Armenia, Persia, and Sumatra. Of the Jesuit work in China and Japan we have already spoken, and the work in India may be described as equally distinguished for heroic devotion.

Anglican Christianity naturally followed the work of the East India Company into India, as chaplains always accompanied the ships. In the work among the natives, however, the first non-Roman effort was made by Danish and Moravian missionaries. Among these the name of Christian Schwartz will always be held in peculiar honor. Six years before Schwartz's death there arrived one of the greatest missionaries who ever set foot in India, William Carey the inspired cobbler, sent out from England by the Baptist Society. Carey did wonderful work as translator, teacher, and evangelist. Another genius, of an entirely different type, was Henry Martyn, an Anglican chaplain of great gifts, who died in Persia after a

brief but fruitful service. In 1814 the Church of England took the important step of consecrating Dr. Middleton as the first Bishop of Calcutta. From that moment the organization of the Indian Church proceeded with great rapidity. American missionaries attempted to enter India as early as 1813, but did not actually begin work till 1833. To-day many missionary societies are laboring side by side for the conversion of the 320,000,000 people of India. The present number of Christians, including both Roman Catholics and Protestants, is approximately 4,000,000. Of these more than half are in the southern provinces and among comparatively low-caste people.

In China the story has been told of the Nestorian, Franciscan, and Jesuit missions. Protestant missions began with the arrival of Robert Morrison in 1807. Not instrumental directly in the winning of many converts, Morrison nevertheless did important work in translation and dictionary making. When he died, there were still but two Protestant missionaries in all China, but following upon the signing of the Treaty of Nanking the number rapidly increased. The Anglican Church, through both its English and American branches, early sent bishops to organize its work. Most other denominations had their representatives in the field as early as circumstances permitted. The society which now supports more missionaries in the field than any other, namely, the China Inland Mission, was founded by Hudson Taylor in 1865. In 1912 the various dioceses of the Anglican Church were organized under the name of Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui. All the Christian bodies operating in China have developed notable workers who left their indelible impress upon Chinese life. The names of Griffith John, Timothy Richard, Mateer, Boone, Nevius, Schereschewsky, W. A. P. Martin, and many others at once spring to memory. The present number of Christians in China, according to the Year Book, is in the neighborhood of three million, about two thirds of whom belong to the Roman communion.

The missionary history of Japan begins with the arrival of Saint Francis Xavier in 1549. The story of the work thus

inaugurated until its proscription in 1637 has already been sufficiently indicated. Soon after the first treaties with America and Europe, eighty Japanese Christians were discovered at Nagasaki. Ten of these were tortured to death, as the old edicts still remained in force. In 1859 missionaries of the American Episcopal Church arrived, and the year after came those great lights of pioneer missionary work in Japan, Hepburn of the Presbyterian Board and Verbeck of the Dutch Reformed Church. In 1873 the Government edicts against Christianity were withdrawn, and for a time there was considerable national inclination toward Christianity. Since that time there have been many fluctuations, depending largely upon Japan's leaning at the time toward or away from the ways of the West. On the whole, progress has been consistent and steady. Never, in all probability, has there been a time when Christianity was more influential in the national life than now. As Marquis Okuma said in 1912: "Although Christianity has enrolled less than 200,000 believers, yet the indirect influence of Christianity has poured into every realm of Japanese life. It has been borne to us on all the currents of European civilization; most of all the English language and literature, so surcharged with Christian ideas, has exerted a wide and deep influence over Japanese thought." The above quotation underestimates the number of Christians. The Russian mission, founded by the truly great missionary, Archbishop Nicolai, claims 33,000 members. The Roman Catholics number about 66,000. The Anglican Missions (Nippon Sei Ko Kuai) report something over 20,000. All other Christian bodies aggregate something under 100,000. Thus the grand total must reach a figure of over 300,000.

On the general subject of missionary work in Asia there is, of course, much to be said by way of criticism. Missions necessarily reflect the weakness as well as the strength of the home churches which are responsible for them. Yet in sober truth no words would be too strong to express the real value of missionary work. Missionaries have been the pioneers of

civilization in hitherto unknown regions of the earth; they have been explorers, geographers, philosophers, tamers of the wild in nature and of the savage in humanity; they have lived as aliens among men with whom they longed to live as brothers and for whom they would have been glad to die; not infrequently they were aliens perforce to men of their own blood and breed; they have esteemed lightly the dangers of persecution and disease, and in loneliness they have strengthened their souls for the performance of duty when duty was hardest; they have been responsible for the upholding of standards which no society around them followed or respected, and which many — sometimes of their own kin — mocked and set at naught; they have had wrestlings with their own flesh and blood to maintain purity without being cold, and courage without being rash, and patience without being dilatory; they have had wrestlings also with enemies not of flesh and blood, but with the powers of darkness entrenched within the society in which they lived. Surely, students of the history of Asia who read of the battles in which Alexander and Jenghiz Khan played their part will have a word of praise for the humbler heroes who sacrificed all, that the East might have the best which the West had received and learned.

CHAPTER XXVII

CONCLUSION

It is hoped that something organic has emerged from the mass of happenings which it has been our task to chronicle. The attempt has been made to tell the story of Asia, not as a mechanical juxtaposition of separate national stories, but rather as the unfolding of great human movements which show a continuous convergence of purpose. These movements are seen to originate for the most part in the central parts of Asia. Compelled by many forces, physical and human, they are seen further to take certain definite directions, east or west or south (rarely north) as the case may be. They carry in their train all manner of consequences, social and political, for the individual, the community, and the race.

In general these movements are from inland toward the coast. All along the fringes of the Asiatic continent we find the frontiersmen of Asiatic civilization. As the advanced wing of their stock, they bear with them not a little of their earliest culture; but we find also that culture developed and enriched by the necessities of adjustment to a new environment. Opposition encountered from the tribes already in possession of the invaded territories acts as a brake in slowing down a movement. This is often merciful, and to the interest of both invaders and invaded. It gives solidity to what might otherwise be nothing but a raid. It gives a chance to the subjugated to absorb culture from their conquerors. It brings government in the wake of conquest. Together with some loss, due to the influence of contact with lower types of civilization or to the debilitating

effect of a different clime, it brings to the newcomers the advantages which opposition under such circumstances commonly begets. There is in particular the gain in political character which the clash of new experiences makes possible. New ideas come with new experience and these ideas become ideals, which the outstanding men of the race embody in literature and religion. And these at last become traditions, which enter into the character of the race.

It is no mere caprice which has selected certain parts of Asia for fuller description than others. It is not always true that the happiest people are those who have no history. For some peoples there was no history because they took no part in the great onward march of men toward the bounds of the waste; since they did not face the great Unknown, they opened up for themselves no new vistas of experience. The coast communities, on the other hand, which stand out so conspicuously in our narrative — China, India, Japan — become the outposts of the Asiatic epic. Here we find the people who gather up and carry with them the interest of all the Way.

It is to be remembered that while one great series of human waves was breaking upon the Eastern shores other waves were rolling on in another direction, seeking more distant outlets beyond the limits of the West. The "grave Tyrian trader" of whom Matthew Arnold writes — he too was an Asiatic. He too represents the story of the Orient, who

> Snatch'd his rudder and shook out more sail;
> And day and night held on indignantly . . .
> To where the Atlantic raves
> Outside the western straits.

With the most adventurous in the van, whole tribes moved across Europe seeking the sea, as certainly as did Xenophon's Ten Thousand on their way to the Euxine. Then in the fifteenth century there came a time when the two great movements, working as it seemed blindly in opposite directions, appeared, like the king's children of the poem, to be

permanently sundered. Europe had now her back to the Orient. *Ex oriente lux* no longer had meaning for her, except as that light came luridly in the wake of new hordes of Turks and Tatars.

Yet the Atlantic proved too narrow a gulf to remain unbridged. So the new frontiersmen moved on yet another stage of the great trek. As on a beach we see the successive shorelines which the tides have left, so we follow the frontier lines of history westward and westward still across the new continent of America till once again "The sea ! The sea !" is the cry. And beyond that sea lies Asia regained.

Then at last, for us and our own day, the two great human tides lap either Pacific shore. Two great expressions of civilization face one another across a vaster gulf than Balboa imagined when he named the Pacific the Gulf of San Miguel. It was no mere geographical approximation. It was a social and political approximation as well. For ideals had become traditions on either side — ideals which, moreover, were no longer to remain strange each to the other. Democracy, with all its risks and responsibilities and all its hopes, is but the expression of this self-conscious approach of Orient and Occident.

Shall the issue be a new marriage of East and West, as superior to the festival at Susa as the ideals of Lincoln and Wilson were superior to those of Alexander? Or shall an intelligent democracy permit the battle lines to be set in array for another Armageddon, which, instead of bringing to pass the triumph of the good, shall become the ultimate holocaust in which all civilization, Eastern and Western, all the historical evolution of all the centuries, must sink into ashes?

Does our necessarily sketchy account of the history of Asia give us any warrant for prophesying? We may certainly do so, not wholly without profit, though with the usual risks. At least our summary places upon us the responsibility for continued study and reflection upon what we study. Only thus can we hope to discern the drift of our own time — if we may

call that a drift for which we ourselves are in part accountable. Better still, only thus may we hope to guide the world toward its desired haven.

There are many questions which such a study will make exceedingly practical. They cannot be ignored without the risk of political disaster, for ourselves as well as for others. Some of them are very specific. Most of them are more and more forcing themselves upon the attention of the thinking men and women of America.

What is to be the future of China? Is she to become senile, opium-drugged, or is she waking up to a new sense of destiny? Is her government, republic or monarchy, to be stable enough to hold her provinces together, or is her fate to keep on disintegrating into a welter of anarchy and confusion? Is the protestation of her modern spokesmen the voice of a new and virile statesmanship, or is it but the vaporing of visionary schoolboys? The answers to such questions are of interest not only to China and to Asia, but to the whole world.

What of Japan? Will she breast the present wave of adversity, adjusting her ancient loyalties to new conditions, training her long-tested chivalry to the service of the democracy as nobly as it was trained to serve the cause of mediæval feudalism? Will she solve without conflict with her neighbors her problem of overpopulation? Will she secure from the continent — again without conflict — the raw materials for the industrialism which is to keep her alive? Will she finally hold her place among the Powers of the Western world, or will she turn her face again to Asia?

Questions similarly specific we may ask with regard to all the nations upon whose story we have touched — India, Arabia, Persia, Asiatic Turkey, Asiatic Russia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Australia, New Zealand. All these without exception are facing with anxiety problems the solution of which belongs to all. All are seeking to formulate policies primarily concerned with the duty of self-defense, and dependent for success upon good relations with one another.

There are also questions of a more general character to be considered. For instance, what is to be the future of Asiatic culture? Will it survive? Will it become Westernized? Will it be swept into the common crucible of internationalism, to lose everything which has given it distinction?

What again of the general influence of Asia on the West? Will it be degrading or enriching? Will the glamour of Cathay, which has caught so many in its magic web during the past four hundred years, outlast our more intimate acquaintance?

What of the influence of the West upon the East, of which some account has been given in the preceding chapters? Will it merely brutalize and materialize the spirit of the Orient, or will it help to lift up vast populations of the overworked and underfed to better standards of living and the enjoyment of life?

What, once more, of the Asiatics who, for good or ill, are marooned, still alien, upon our shores? Will they — intermarriage or no intermarriage — gradually become assimilated psychologically and even in part physically to our own people? Will they remain pockets of foreign, if not hostile, sentiment? Or will they furnish some much-needed elements of culture, such as we all should value, to the civilization we prize?

What, lastly, of the future of the Pacific? The relations to exist between the nations which live around the Pacific rim constitute without doubt the most practical question of American foreign politics. It is the subject by which American statesmanship is to be most thoroughly tested, and that by which American intelligence will in the days to come be estimated.

The vision which met the eyes of Balboa and Magellan four hundred years ago has in our time assumed a fresh significance. Men are staring at the Pacific to-day with even wilder surmise than that which filled the eyes of the mariners of old. They are asking, some with cynicism, some with hope, the question, "Is it peace?" Is the Pacific era of history to be worthy of its name?

For beyond all doubt we have very definitely entered upon the Pacific era. The far-sightedness of our American statesman, Mr. Seward, anticipated this day when he purchased Alaska, not merely for the sake of getting Alaska, but because, ahead of his generation, he discerned the future relation of the United States to the world of Asia. Since Mr. Seward's time nations have been growing up to the vigor of manhood all around the Pacific shores.

China, most ancient of living nations, yet the youngest of republics, throughout her vast bulk has been feverishly twitching to wakefulness. The impact of the West has stung her to self-consciousness.

Japan, after two and a half centuries of seclusion during which only drop by drop, through the Dutch, was she receiving any knowledge of the Occident, suddenly has found herself at the high table of international politics, compelled to rivalry with the rest in arms, in diplomacy, in ocean commerce.

Australia and New Zealand, proudly tenacious of the traditions inherited from a mighty mother, proud too of their isolation as the sole white peoples of the Oriental world, have grown up from the colonial to the Dominion status, anxiously interrogating the future.

The Philippines, separated from the tyranny which had exploited them for centuries, measurably grateful too for a quarter-century of American tutelage, have come to feel themselves "between two worlds, one dead," the other — one hopes — not altogether powerless to be born.

On the hither side of the Pacific, the great mother of republics, stretching her mighty limbs across the continent, has been growing more and more conscious of the responsibilities of the Pacific outlook.

To the north we have the Dominion of Canada, a people akin in blood and speech and tradition, realizing like obligations to the future.

It is not to be denied that hitherto the relations between the races working out their destiny around the Pacific rim have

been controlled largely by fear, — policies of fear springing out of mutual ignorance and mistrust. Anti-foreign feeling in China is not all barbarism, but, at least in part, something which arises from memories of exploitation and selfish nationalism, from infringements of sovereignty suffered, from privileges wrested by strength from weakness. In Japan we have a nation which stepped out into the responsibilities of international life to find her path hampered by some of the very people who had urged that self-chosen isolation was a crime. To be a nation among the nations, she discovered, was to be compelled to stand on guard with unceasing vigilance for the honor of her past, the necessities of her present, the security of her future. In the Philippines, too, fear has played its part in making even a generous altruism suspected of insincerity, in suggesting that the events of 1898 only spelled change of master rather than the winning of a way to freedom.

So, once again, even the policies of Australia and New Zealand, of Canada and the United States, so far as relations with the Orient are concerned, have been policies of fear. Absurd as the bugaboo appears to reflecting minds, there have been not a few, and these at times in places of responsibility, who have dangled the idea of a Yellow Peril, meditating invasion and devastation, before the eyes of the citizenry of the United States. Even where no such flimsy spectre dared to leave the shelter of its native darkness, there have been those who shouted in the market-place the imminent degradation of our ideals and the destruction of our standards, because of the presence among us of the comparatively few Orientals whom our hospitality had welcomed at the first.

Now even the fear, without any of its consequences, is mischievous. Carlyle had some right when he replied to the apology of the neighbor who protested that his rooster only crowed twice in the night. "But, my dear sir, you do not know what I suffer while I am waiting for those two times!" Fear makes tragedy only too possible.

Much, it is true, has come about in recent years to make such

fears illogical. The whole world has cause for gratitude in the achievements of the Washington Conference of 1922. It has been shown that it is not impossible to allay distrust, settle troublesome disputes, diminish the burden of armaments, and make the menace of imminent war seem ridiculous. But in order to make our efforts on behalf of peace positive and constructive, much remains to be done. Our better world will be here just as soon as we really want it. But, to show that we want it, we must work unceasingly for it. We must both learn and teach a common understanding such as takes note of all the needs we find in the gifts of others. Out of an ampler understanding — such as rejects instinctively the mischievous misinformation so sedulously sown by irresponsible journalism — we must learn to banish prejudice and cherish the sympathy which right understanding begets. Sympathy, moreover, should be expressed in efforts after international coöperation. Citizenship should begin to train itself for world service.

Along these capital lines of understanding, sympathy, and coöperation we must set to work. It will be inspirational work, giving men the vision of their true destiny. It will be practical work, applying in the policy of nations the principles we accept as axiomatic in relations between individuals. The opportunity lies open before us to advance at once the greatness of America and the well-being of the world. Every nation has two great obligations, "two duties set at one, though the loud world proclaim their enmity." The one is centripetal and self-regardful. The other is centrifugal and regardful of others. America's centripetal duty is to see that her own nationalism is itself a worthy expression of what the Republic has stood for from the beginning. It is to allow no taint, no dilution, such as might diminish her power of witness. This being secured, then comes the centrifugal obligation, which is to bear, without fear or favor, without shrinking or revolt, witness to the world of all that has been won.

There is, of course, an internationalism which has no room for the national, or for the patriotism which nationalism

promotes. For that kind of internationalism we do not pray, any more than we pray for the nationalism which has no place for the individual. But just as the individual, with his trained intelligence and his voluntary service, becomes the very stuff out of which a genuine nationalism is created, so out of an unselfish nationalism must it be possible to build the true internationalism, whose destiny it is to save civilization itself.

It is told of the ancient Iberians that, living on the marge of the western seas, they were often wont to gaze out across the waves where lay, as they believed, the Isles of the Blessed. Once in every seven years, so it was held, those islands actually became visible through the ocean mists. At such times men went out, in their canoes and coracles, with fire in their hands. For they were assured that, if once they were able to cast this fire upon the desired coasts, those would become their own, to dwell therein forever.

If men to-day but carry with them in their quest across the Pacific the fire of faith and hope, the delectable lands of Peace will not remain for long a myth. Americans of late have talked of being tired of what they call vision. Toward unenlightened sentimentality it is well to be obdurate. But it has been wisely said that "a map of the world which does not include Utopia is not worth gazing at." The world of this vision, moreover, need not be Utopia. If we consecrate ourselves as a people to the task, we may bring the vision down into the region of realized political fact. Here is the true Americanism which will safeguard every interest that Americans hold dear. Here is the nationalism which shall set us forward on the road our fathers essayed in hope.

It need be no disappointment that in the light of common day the vision has seemed for a while to fade and grow dim. It must ever be necessary to descend from the Mount to translate that vision into deathless fact. But, having come down, we should be able to see as never before spread out before us the divinely apportioned task. Then, to an America bent patiently and perseveringly upon the accomplishment of her

mission, will arise in very truth the praise of all who pray for that mightier realm of God in man:

Land of our hope, land of the singing stars,
Type of the world to be,
The vision of a world set free from wars
Takes life, takes form from thee;
Where all the jarring nations of the earth,
Beneath the all-blessing sun,
Bring the new music of mankind to birth,
And make the whole world one.

APPENDIX

SUGGESTED READING

CHAPTERS I, II

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF PRINCIPAL EVENTS

B.C. 7000 (?)	Possible civilization in Central Asia
5000 (?)	Beginnings of Sumerian civilization
3800 (?)	Semitic invasion of the Euphrates Valley. Sargon of Agade
2852	Chinese dynastic history begins. The Five Rulers
2205	Hsia Dynasty commences rule in China
2000	First Babylonian Dynasty. Hammurabi
1766	Shang Dynasty of China
1700	Kassite Invasion of Euphrates Valley
1500 (?)	Aryan Invasion of India
1300	Rise of Assyrian Empire
1122	Chou Dynasty of China begins
1122	Foundation of the Korean Kingdom
1100	Tiglath Pileser I reigns over Assyria
1000	Foundation of the Hebrew Monarchy. David and Solomon
745	Tiglath Pileser III conquers Babylon
721	Samaria captured by the Assyrians. End of Kingdom of Israel
705	Reign of Sennacherib begins
667	Ashur-bani-pal, last of the great Assyrians
660	Jimmu Tennō, traditional first Emperor of Japan
606	Nineveh captured by Medes and Chaldeans
604	Birth of Lao-tzu
586	Jerusalem destroyed by Nebuchadrezzar
571 (?)	Birth of Gautama, the Buddha
551	Birth of Confucius
539	Babylon taken by Cyrus
521	Reign of Darius Hystaspes
465	Death of Xerxes
373	Birth of Mencius

B.C.	334	Alexander the Great invades Asia
	331	Battle of Arbela
	323	Seleucid period begins in Persia and Western Asia
	321	Chandragupta founds the Mauryan Dynasty in India
	264	Açoka, the first Buddhist Emperor of India
	250	Parthian Revolt establishes Arsacid rule over Persia
	249	Ch'in Dynasty makes China an empire. Ch'in Shih Huang-ti builds the Great Wall
	210	Han Dynasty commences its four centuries of rule
	184	Mauryan Dynasty ends in India
	168	Jerusalem taken by Antiochus Epiphanes
	140	Wu Ti extends China to the West
	53	Defeat of Crassus by the Parthians
	4	Birth of Christ
A.D.	68	Buddhism introduced into China
	150 (?)	Kanishka rules over Northwest India
	203	Japanese Empress Jingo invades Korea
	210	End of the Han Dynasty in China
	227	Ardashir founds the Sassanid Dynasty in Persia
	242	Manichæanism preached by Mani in Persia
	260	Capture of Valerian by Shahpur I of Persia
	320	Gupta Empire founded in India
	325	Council of Nicæa
	363	Julian the Apostate slain in battle in Persia
	500	Nestorian missions to the Far East begin
	531	Khosru Nushirwan reigns in Persia
	552	Buddhism introduced into Japan
	571	Birth of Muhammad
	581	Sui Dynasty in China
	604	Shotoku Taishi becomes convert to Buddhism
	606	Harsha, last native lord-paramount of India
	618	T'ang Dynasty begins in China
	622	Muhammadan Era (the Hijra) begins
	632	Death of Muhammad. Nestorian mission reaches China
		Orthodox Khalifs rule from Madina
	645	The "Great Reform" in Japan
	661	Ummayad Khalifs rule from Damascus
	704	Nara, the first Japanese capital. Period lasts till 794
	749	Abbasid Khalifs commence rule from Bagdad
	786	Haroun al-Raschid, Khalif
	804	Kyoto becomes the capital of Japan

A.D.	905	T'ang Dynasty ends in China. The Five Little Dynasties begin
	906	Commencement of Sung Dynasty
	1001	Invasion of India by Mahmud of Ghazni
	1020	Death of the poet Firdusi
	1037	Death of Avicenna
	1071	Revival of Islam under the Seljuk Turks
	1186	Foundation of the Japanese Shogunate by Yoritomo
	1187	Saladin captures Jerusalem
	1227	Death of Jenghiz Khan
	1241	Mongol victory at Liegnitz
	1245	Franciscan missions to China begin
	1258	Bagdad sacked by Hulagu
	1268	Kublai Khan succeeds to the Great Khanate
	1281	Failure of Kublai's attempt to conquer Japan
	1292	John de Monte Corvino sent to be Archbishop of Peking
	1295	Marco Polo returns to Europe
	1333	Burning of Kamakura
	1335	Ashikaga Shogunate begins in Japan
	1367	Timur Leng becomes Great Khan
	1368	Mongol Dynasty superseded in China by the Mings
	1405	Death of Timur-i-Leng
	1453	Ottoman Turks take Constantinople
	1498	Vasco da Gama sails for India
	1512	Sultan Selim buys the title of Khalif
	1516	Portuguese reach China
	1520	Suleiman the Magnificent rules to 1566
	1521	Magellan discovers the Philippines
	1525	Baber founds the Indian Moghul Empire
	1542	Portuguese reach Japan
	1549	(Saint) Francis Xavier commences the Jesuit mission in Japan
	1556	Akbar the Great reigns in India
	1573	Nobunaga ends the Ashikaga Shogunate in Japan
	1581	Yermak, the Cossack, captures Sibir
	1582	Death of Nobunaga
	1598	Death of Hideyoshi
	1600	Iyeyasu founds the Tokugawa Shogunate
	1602	Dutch East India Company formed
	1605	Jehangir, Great Moghul
	1613	Sir John Saris arrives at Japan in the Clove
	1628	Shah Jehan becomes Great Moghul

A.D.	1638	Japan closed to Christianity and the West. Dutch confined to Deshima
	1644	Ming Empire succumbs to the rebel Li. Wu San-kwei opens China to the Manchus
	1658	Aurungzeb succeeds as Great Moghul
	1661	K'ang Hsi commences reign in China
	1689	Treaty of Nerchinsk between Russia and China
	1707	Death of Aurungzeb
	1727	Treaty of Kiakhta between Russia and China
	1736	Nadir Shah raids India
		Ch'ien Lung becomes Chinese Emperor
	1755	Struggle between French and English in India
	1757	Battle of Plassey
	1769	First Expedition of Captain James Cook
	1772	Warren Hastings succeeds Clive in India
	1784	First United States ship to China
	1791	Death of Abd-ul-Wahâb, founder of Wahabi movement
	1792	Macartney mission to China
	1816	Amherst mission fails to see the Chinese Emperor
	1833	Lord Napier sent to China. Dies in 1834
	1839	War between Great Britain and China
	1840	Treaty of Waitangi signed in New Zealand
	1842	Treaty of Nanking
	1844	First United States Treaty with China
	1853	Commodore Perry's Expedition to Japan
	1854	Treaty of Kanagawa
	1857	Indian Mutiny
	1858	American Commercial Treaty with Japan
		Franco-British War with China
	1860	Treaty of Peking
	1863	Bombardment of Shimonoseki by the allies
	1864	End of the T'ai-ping Rebellion
	1867	Shogunate ends in Japan
	1868	Meiji Era begins in Japan
	1877	Satsuma Rebellion
	1889	New Japanese Constitution
	1894	War between China and Japan
	1895	Treaty of Shimonoseki
	1898	United States acquires the Philippines
	1900	Boxer Rebellion
	1904	Russo-Japanese War
		British Expedition to Tibet

A.D. 1905	Treaty of Portsmouth
1908	Death of the great Empress-Dowager of China
1910	Korea annexed to Japan
1911	Chinese Revolution
1912	Republic established in China
1912	Meiji Tennō dies. Succeeded by Yoshihito
1913	Yuan Shih-k'ai elected President of China
1914	The Great War. Japan takes Tsingtao from the Germans
1915	Japan makes her "Twenty-one Demands" on China
1916	Yuan attempts to restore the Monarchy. Dies and is succeeded by Li Yuan-hung
1917	China breaks with Germany. Chang Hsun attempts to restore the Manchus. Fêng Kuo-chang becomes President
1918	Hsu Shih-chang elected President
1919	China declines to sign the Treaty of Versailles
1920	"Four Power Consortium" signed
	Mandates in Asia given to France and Great Britain
1921	Washington Conference meets. Japan returns Tsingtao
1923	Tsao Kun displaces Li Yuan-hung as President
1924	Tuan Chi-jui becomes Chief Executive in China
1925	Treaty between Russia and China. Treaty between Russia and Japan
	Death of Sun Yat-sen in Peking
	Japanese Manhood Suffrage Bill passed
	"The Shanghai Affair." Anti-foreign feeling in China
	Conferences in Peking on the tariff question
	War between Chang Tso-lin and Fêng Yu-hsiang leaves the former in possession of Mukden and the latter of Peking
	Revolution in Persia. Reza Khan becomes founder of a new dynasty
	Druses and French approach a settlement in Syria
	League of Nations Council decides against Turkey in the Mosul boundary question
1926	Death of Premier Kato, of Japan, January 27

INDEX

Açoka, imperial convert to Buddhism, 42; sent mission to Burmah, 171.
Adams, John Quincy (quoted), on Japan's duty to world, 185.
Adams, Will, pilots Dutch ship to Japar., 128, 129, 134.
Admiralty Islands, 178.
Afghanistan, the land and the people, 167; war with British, 247, 248; German influence during World War, 278.
Aguinaldo, 344.
Ahriman, 31.
Ainus, 32, 34, 56.
Akbar the Great, 103, 104, 162, 163.
Aleppo, 100.
Alexander the Great, 35, 39, 40, 41, 144, 167, 379 and *n.*
Alexandrias (cities) as memorials of conqueror, 40.
America, native tribes of, 16, 142; trade of China and East Indies with, 181, 182. *See also* United States.
Amoy, 191.
Analects of Confucius, 46.
Angkor Thom, 170.
Antiochus Epiphanes and the Maccabees, 41.
Arabia, bearer of Asiatic stories and legends to Europe, 9, 10; early home of Semitic peoples, 22; pre-Islamic religions, 66 and *n.*; Muhammad's career, 66 and *n.*, 67 and *n.*, 68 and *n.*; Abd-ul-Wahâb and his reform movement, 169; visit of Niebuhr, 169; revolts against Turkish control, 284, 285; takes part in World War, 285.
Arabian Nights, 73.
Armenians, early history of, 279, 280; Christians since fourth century, 279 and *n.*; sufferings under Turks and Kurds, 280, 281, 282, 283.
Arnold, Matthew (quoted), 40, 401.
Art, Greek, as influencing Indian art, 52, 53; Japanese, 58.
Artaxerxes, 64.
Aryan, the term, 27, 28; movement of the people, 24, 26, 28, 29; literature, 28, 29, 30.
Asia, as the cradle of the human race, 8, 16; as source of great migratory movements, 8, 9; as leader in advances of civilization, 9, 18, 19; as birthplace of great religions, 10; as mother of great men, 11; separated from Europe by rise of Ottoman power, 6, 7; connected with Europe through Palestine, 9; relations with U. S., 12, 13; proto-history, 17; relations with Egypt, 24, 25; Greek influences, 40, 41, 42; early Christian influences, 43, 53; close of old land-routes from Europe, 105, 106; inevitably concerned in World War, 288, 289; Asiatics barred from U. S. citizenship, 353, 354, 355; early influence of East on the Western civilization, 380; the missionaries' work, 390–399.
Asia Minor, obscurity of prehistoric period, 33; under Darius, 36; Greek colonies in, 36; overrun by Ottoman Turks, 98, 99, 100.
Asoka. *See* Açoka.
Assassins, Society of the, 75.
Asshurbanipal, 25.
Assyrians, 24, 25, 27, 277 and *n.*
Augustine, Saint, and Manichæanism, 64.
Aurungzeb, 140, 141, 163, 164.
Australasia, 175.
Australia, possible origin of tribes in, 20; early discovery of shores, 175; Dutch the first who touched there, 175, 176; Dampier first English visitor, 176; Captain Cook first explorer, 176; study of the aborigines, 176; first British settlements, 176; Pacific islands given to, 297; the All-White policy, 298 and *n.*, 299, 333, 334; present condition and outlook, 334, 335.
Azores, the, 108, 111.

Babism, 10.
Babylon, 24, 25, 26, 27, 31.
Bagdad as Islam's capital, 70, 73, 74, 75; sacked by Mongols, 82, 83; during World War, 278.
Bagdad Railway scheme, 276, 277.

Bahaism, 10.
Balboa and the Pacific, 118, 173, 402.
Banerjea, Sir Surendranath (quoted), on India's future, 332.
Barentz, William, 127.
Barlaam and Josaphat, 70 and *notes*.
Barmecides, the, 73 and *n*.
Batavia, centre of Dutch East India Co.'s trade, 131, 325, 326.
Bayazid, 99, 100.
Belshazzar, 26.
Besant, Mrs. Annie, 383.
Bibliography, 411–418.
Biddle, Commodore, 186.
Bismarck archipelago, 297.
"Black Hole" of Calcutta, 165.
Black Sea routes, Europe to Asia, 105.
Borneo, 334.
Bo-tree, the, 39 and *n*., 42.
Boxer revolt, 203, 204.
Brahmanas, the, 37.
Brahmanism, developed into Hinduism, 63.
British begin trade with the Far East, 132, 133; Will Adams in Japan, 134, 136; Sir John Saris and Japan's exclusion policy, 134, 135, 136; attempt to enter China, 136; received by the Indian Moghuls, 136, 137; gain advantages over Portuguese, 138; Job Charnock, 139; Bombay, 139; admitted into China, 157; struggles with French in India, 165; with Dutch, 165; "Black Hole" of Calcutta, 165; Clive's work in India, 165, 166; Warren Hastings, 166; British in Australia, 176; in New Zealand, 176 and *n*.; annexation, 177, 178; in Friendly and Cook Islands, 179; in Fiji and Sandwich Islands, 179, 180 and *n*.; Lord Napier's commission to China, 190; Elliot's diplomacy, 191; the war with China, 191; Treaty of Nanking, 191; Hongkong ceded to British and other ports opened, 191; "Chinese" Gordon, 193; repeated war with China, 194; cession of Kowloon, opening of Tientsin, 194; legation at Peking, 194; Pegu and Burmah annexed, 199; secure lease of Wei-hai-wei, 202; first treaty with Japan, 226; factories in India lead to political responsibility, 242; 1773 Regulating Act and 1784 Government of India Act, 242; Lord Lake, 243; trading monopoly of London Co. ended, 243; Alexander Duff, 243; Macaulay on Indian education, 243; Lord Bentinck, 243, 244; Sir Charles Napier, 245; wars in Afghanistan and the Panjab, 245; Lord Canning and the Mutiny, 245, 246, 247; India comes under the Crown, 247; visit of Prince of Wales, 246; Victoria proclaimed Empress, 247 and *n*.; reforms of Lord Ripon and Lord Lansdowne, 248; Coronation Durbar at Delhi, 249; Lord Curzon and Lord Kitchener, 249; increasing unrest of Indians, 248; Indian boycott of British goods, 248; demand for self-government, 250; Indian Councils Act, 251; Lord Minto and Lord Hardinge, 251–255; rise of Gandhi, 253, 254; opium trade, 268; British in Persia during World War, 276, 277, 278; at the Washington Conference, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318; influence in China to-day, 329 and *n*.; influence in Tibet, 330; the situation in India, 330, 331, 332; Ceylonese statistics, 332; proposed naval base at Singapore, 333; James Brooke in Borneo, 334; the Empire and Australia, 334, 335; New Zealand affairs, 335, 336; mandate for Iraq and Mosul, 337, 338; for Palestine, 338; the opium problem, 387 and *n*., 388, 389.
Browning, Robert (quoted), 155.
Buddha, the. *See* Buddhism.
Buddha, the Living, 158, 293; of Mongolia, 304.
Buddhism, 35; origins of, 38, 39 and *n*.; introduced into Ceylon, 42; schism in, 42; introduced into China, 50, 51; broader extension and development, 53, 54; service done by pilgrim monks, 62, 63; the Buddha story in Western literature, 70, 71; formation of sects, 89, 90; modification in Tibet, 157, 158.
Burlingame, Anson, 195, 196.
Burmah, early tribes of, 171; introduction of Buddhist religion, 171; Kublai Khan, 171; conflicts with China, 172; British operations, 199; becomes part of British India, 199.

Çakuntala, the, and Goethe's *Faust*, 62.
Caliphs. *See* Khalifs.
Cambodia, 170, 327.
Cambyses, 35.
Camoens and his epic, 109, 110.
Canaanites, 26.
Canary Islands, 108.
Canning, Charles George, Lord, 245, 246.
Cannon, early use of, 83, 84.

Canton formally opened to British trade, 191.
Cape of Good Hope, 108, 324.
Cape Verde Islands, 108, 111, 118.
Caroline Islands, 122 and *n.*, 174, 179, 297.
Carp, symbolism of the, 45.
Caste, beginnings of, in India, 29; reaction against, 38.
Cathay, 6, 88. *See also* China.
Celebes, prehistoric people of, 20.
Ceylon, prehistoric people of, 20; introduction of Buddhism, 42; as a Crown Colony of Great Britain, 332.
Chandragupta, 42.
Chaucer, Geoffrey (quoted), 90.
China, probable early advances in civilization, 17, 18, 19; trade with the Romans, 43, 51; decentralization of government, 43, 44; the *Chou Li*, 44; democratic spirit, 44; pressure of the Huns, 44, 45; the Great Wall, 45, 49; the Chou dynasty, 44, 45; Confucius, 45, 46, 47; Mencius, 47; Lao Tsŭ, 47, 48; Taoism, 48 and *notes;* Chin dynasty, 49; Han dynasty, 49; revival of learning, invention of paper and hair brush, first lexicon, 49; westward movement, 50; introduction of Buddhism, 50, 51; history during early centuries of Christianity, 58, 59, 60; a centre of human culture, 60, 61; early poets, 61; Sung dynasty, 75, 76; state socialism, 75, 76; Khitan Tatars, 76; the Manchu tribes, 76; the name Cathay, 76; Chin and Sung realms in China, 76; visited by Marco Polo, 87 and *notes;* Jewish settlers, 88 and *n.*; Mongols expelled by the native Ming dynasty, 91, 92; new buildings at Peking, 92; coming of the Manchus, 92, 93; Portuguese in China, 112; Jesuit missionaries, 113, 114, 115, 116; restrictions put on Dutch traders, 131; British traders driven away from Canton, 136; first treaty with a European Power, 148, 149; Eleuth uprisings quelled, 149 and *n.*, 150; new treaty with Russia, admitting Russian mission to Peking, 150; return of Tatar tribe from Russia, 151, 152; beginning of Manchu dominance, 153 and *n.*, 154, 155, 156; end of the Mings, 154; Jesuits continued in favor, 154, 155; literary advances, 156; Emperor corresponds with Voltaire, 156; English embassy to Peking, 157; beginnings of trade with America, 181, 182; first American consulate, 182; peculiar conditions of business in China, 182, 183; the opium trade, 182, 183; "pidgin" English, 183 and *n.*; fur trade with America, 183, 184; American shipping at Canton, 184; need of protection for American seamen, 185; decline of Manchu glory, 187; political and other troubles, 187, 189; pirates, 187, 188; effect of wars between England and France, 188; embassy from England, 188, 189; trade difficulties with foreigners, 189, 190; Lord Napier's commission, 190; Captain Elliot and the opium question, 190, 191; the Canton war and the Treaty of Nanking, 191; Hongkong ceded to the British, 191; demands of other Western Powers, 192; Caleb Cushing bears letter from President Tyler to the Emperor, 192 and *n.*; Cushing negotiates treaty with U. S., 192; Tai-ping Rebellion, 192, 193, 194; General Frederick Ward, 193; "Chinese" Gordon, 193; war with Great Britain and France, 194; Treaty of Peking, 194; Kowloon ceded to British, Tientsin opened, British legation established in Peking, 194; privileges granted to missionaries, 194, 195; Burlingame and Chinese treaty with U. S., 195, 196; treaty modified regarding immigration into U. S., 196, 197; the Empress-Dowager, regent, 197; growth of foreign power in Middle Kingdom, 197, 198; war with France, and losses by China, 198, 199; China represented at British court, 199; disagreements with Japan over Korea, 200, 201; cedes Liao-tung peninsula to Japan, takes it back, leases it to Russia, 201; leases part of Tsing-tao to Germany, 201; Kuanchow-wan to France, 201, 202; Wei-hai-wei to Great Britain, 202; reforms started by Emperor Kuang-su and revoked by Empress-Dowager, 202, 203; third regency of Empress-Dowager, 203; Boxer uprising, 203; peace terms with the Powers, 204; modernizing concessions by Empress-Dowager, 204; end of the Manchu dynasty, 204, 205; Chinese in Manchuria, 207; wars in western provinces lead Russia to encroach on territory, 211, 212; Japan's Twenty-one Demands, 260, 261; Revolution of 1911 and Sun

China (*Continued*)
Yat-sen, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266; Republic proclaimed, 264, 265; Yuan Shih-kai, 263–270; troubles in Mongolia, 265; attempts to arrange foreign loans, 266; dictatorship of Yuan and restoration of monarchy, 267–270; civil strife, 271, 272; end of monarchy, 272; war declared against Germany, 272, 273; advantages in joining Allies, 291; at the Peace Conference, 296, 297; struggle with Japan at Conference, 299, 300; work of Soviet agents in Mongolia, 304, 305; Russia makes diplomatic advances, 305, 306; foreign loan arranged, but Chinese domestic disagreements prevent its use, 310, 311; the Shantung problem, 311, 312; the extraterritoriality question, 312 and *notes*, 313; other grievances, 313; at the Washington Conference, 316, 317, 318; Soviet influences, 321, 322; British influence in, 329; relations with Tibet, 330; immigration problem in U. S., 342; American capital in China, 343; Soviet extension of Communistic propaganda, 355 and *n.*, 356 and *n.*; end of Sun Yat-sen's career, 356, 357 and *n.*; Mass Education movement, 357, 358 and *n.*; desire for more complete and independent nationalism, 358, 359; strikes in schools and in industries, 359, 360; anti-foreign rioting, 360, 361; anti-Christian movements, 361; attitude of other Powers, 361, 362; present relations with Japan, 363, 364, 365; China's debt to foreign missionaries, merchants, and statesmen, 366, 367; her special difficulties in readjustment, 367–371 and *notes;* trade statistics, 385; foreign capital, 385, 386; the present problem of opium, 387 and *n.*, 388, 389; introduction of Western educational ideals, 391, 392; medical missions, 393, 394; industrial teaching, 395; evangelistic work, 395, 396, 397; the outlook, 403.
Chinese, early trade with America, 181, 182.
Chirol, Sir Valentine (quoted), on India and Great Britain, 331, 332.
Christianity, 35, 53; Nestorian, in China, 60 and *n.*, 61; Western missionaries and their work in the Orient, 390–399.
Chronology, 419–423.
Chronology, Muhammadan, 67 and *n.*
Civilization, geographic types of, 11, 352.
Climatic changes and migration, 16, 17.
Clive, Robert, Lord, 165, 166, 182, 242.
Coleridge, S. T. (quoted), 83.
Columbus, route to India conceived by, 108.
Constantinople, 98, 99.
Cook, James, Captain, 174, 176, 179, 180 and *n.*, 183.
Cowan, A. R. (quoted), 20, 21 and *n.*
Crœsus, 31.
Cuckoo poems by Japanese soldiers, 97.
Curzon, Lord, 249.
Cushing, Caleb, in China, 192.
Cyrus, 26, 31.
Czechoslovaks in Russia after Revolution, 294, 295.

Dalhousie, Lord, in India, 245.
Damascus, capital of Ummayad Khalifate, 70; taken by Timur, 100; since the war, 329.
Daqiqi, 74.
Darius Hystaspes, 36, 38.
Delhi, 251, 252. *See also* Moghuls.
De Quincey, *Flight of a Tartar Tribe*, 151, 152.
Deshima (island), 130, 161, 162.
Diaz, Bartolomeo, 108.
Diocletian, 64.
Disarmament Conference, 313–319.
Disraeli, Benjamin, 247 *n.*
Drama, Greek and Roman, as influencing Indian literature, 52.
Dravidian tribes, origin and early movements of, 20, 21.
Druses, the, 285 and *n.*, 328, 329.
Duff, Alexander, in India, 243 and *n.*
Dutch, on Malay Peninsula, 112; efforts to reach China, 127, 128; the *Itinerario* of van Linschoten, 128; India Company, 128; Will Adams and the Japanese, 128 and *n.*, 129; exclusion policy of Iyemitsu, 129, 130; Dutch trade in Java, 131; embassies to China, 131; influence in Japan, 162; struggle against British in India, 165; land in Australia, 175; first treaty with Japan, 226; Pacific island possessions, 323, 324, 325, 326.
Dutch East India Company, 128; attempts to establish monopoly of Eastern trade, 131; later misfortunes, 131, 132.

Earthquakes in Japan, 227, 376, 377, 378.
East India trade with America, 181, 182.
Egypt and Asia, 24, 25, 27, 105; traditional circumnavigation of Africa, 108.
England. *See* British.
Euphrates Valley, early civilization in, 21, 22, 23, 24; the Bagdad Railway, 276; Turkish enterprise, 286, 287; the World War, 287. *See also* Iraq and Mosul.
Extraterritoriality first mentioned in a Chinese treaty, 191; included in Chinese treaty with U. S. (1844), 192; nationalist protests against, 312 and *notes*, 316, 358 and *n.*, 359.
Ezra, 37.

Farther India, 169, 170. *See also* Annam, Burmah, and Siam.
Fetichism in Arabia, 66 and *notes*.
Fiji (Viti) Islands, 179, 337.
Firdusi, 74.
Fitzgerald, Edward, 75.
Flight of a Tartar Tribe, 151, 152.
Formosa, occupied by Dutch, 131; relinquished to Chinese, 131; opium trade in, 182; ceded to Japan, 201.
France. *See* French.
Freeman, E. A., and estimates of world history, 13.
French, struggle with British in India, 165; seek trade privileges in China, 192; war with China, 194; privileges for missionaries, 194, 195; representatives permitted in Peking, 195; share in control of maritime customs, 197; war with China, Tonking annexed, Annam under protectorate, 198, 199; martyred priests in Korea, 200; lease port of Kuanchow-wan, 202; at the Washington Conference, 315; in India to-day, 326; in China, 326, 327; in Indo-China, 327, 328; in the Pacific islands, 328; mandate for Syria, 328, 329, 382.
French East India Co., 326.
Friars Minor, travels of the, 84, 396.
Friendly Islands, 179.
Fuchow, 191.

Gandhi, Mohandas Karamchand, 253, 254, 331, 382.
Gâthas, the, 28.
Gautama. *See* Buddhism.
Geologic changes as conditioning history, 15.
Germans secure a Chinese port, 201; in the Russo-Japanese War, 214, 215 and *n.*, 216; lose Chinese territory to Japan, 259, 260; and the Bagdad Railway scheme, 276, 277; story of Kaiser's conversion to Islam and call for a Holy War, 278; lose Pacific island possessions, 289; lose advantages in China, 291; influence of, in Orient, 320, 321.
Gilgamesh, epic of, 21, 22.
Ginseng, exported to China, 181.
Goa under the Portuguese, 116, 323.
Gods of the Vedic poems, 28, 29 and *n.*, 31.
Golden Chersonese, the, 171.
Golden Horde, the, 144, 146.
Gordon, C. G., Colonel, ("Chinese"), 193.
Great Britain. *See* British.
Greek influences in Asia, 40, 41, 42, 52, 53; colonies in Asia Minor overrun by Ottoman Turks, 98, 99.
Guam, island of, 314, 318, 346, 347.
Gunpowder, early use of, 83, 89.
Gurkhas, the, 158 and *n.*

Haggai, 37.
Haj, the, 68.
Hammurabi and his Code, 23, 24, 287.
Hanuman and the "monkey tribes" of India, 20.
Haroun al-Raschid, 73.
Harriman, E. H., and Manchurian Railway problems, 238, 240.
Harris, Townsend, 226, 227.
Hasan ben Sabah, 75.
Hawaiian Islands, 179, 180; the "Napoleon of the Pacific," 180; unratified annexation by British, 180; coming of New England missionaries, 181, 183, 184; annexation by U. S., 340.
Hebrew people, 26, 27, 286, 338, 339.
Hegira, the. *See* Hijra.
Henry, Prince, the Navigator, 6, 107, 108.
Herodotus, 86.
Hijra, the, 67.
Himalaya Mountains, as a factor in shaping history, 15, 19.
Hinduism, 63; the Brahmo Samaj and its influence, 244 and *notes*, 245; conflict with Muhammadanism in India, 253.
Hindustan. *See* India.
History as conditioned by geology, 15, 16.
Hittites, movements of the, 24, 27.
Holland. *See* Dutch.

Hongkong, 12; ceded to British, 191; a centre of influence, 330.
Huang-Ti, 19 and *n.*
Huns, ancient movements of, 8, 43, 143.
Huntington, Ellsworth, and climatic changes, 17.
Husayn, death of, and division in Islam, 69.
Hutukhtu, the, 265.

Illiteracy in China, 358 and *n.*
Immigration problems, 347–351, 353–355. *See* China, Japan, and United States, *also* Australia.
India, birthplace of Hinduism and Buddhism, 10; absence of ancient records, 19, 20; prehistoric tribes, 20, 21; beginnings of caste distinction, 29; developments of Brahmanism, 37, 38; rise of Jainism and Buddhism, 38, 39; possible influence of Persia on religions, 38 and *n.*; Alexander, 39, 40, 41; semiforeign dynasties, 43; Milinda, 43; influence of Western drama, 52; influence of Greek art, 52, 53; Gupta dynasty, 62; Buddhist pilgrimages, 63 and *notes;* Hinduism, 63; raided by Muhammadans, 74; invaded by Timur, 99; Babar, founder of the Moghul Empire, 101 and *n.*, 102; Humayun, 102, 103; Akbar the Great, 103, 104; Diaz and the "way to the Indies," 108; Vasco da Gama, 108, 109; the *Lusiads*, 109; Entrance of the Portuguese, 108–111; sixteenth-century literature, 110; bull of Pope Alexander VI, 111; Queen Elizabeth sends Captain Hawkins to the Moghul Court, 136, 137; Portuguese rivalry hampers trade privileges, 137; Jehangir and Shah Jehan, 137; fortune turns to favor British, 138; Elihu Yale at Madras, 138; Charnock at Calcutta, 139; British come into possession of Bombay, 139; decline of Portuguese and Spanish enterprise, 139; the French East India Company, 139, 140; the last of the Great Moghuls, 140, 141; romantic lives of the Moghul rulers, 162, 163; Rajput heroism, 163; struggles of French with English in India, 165; the "Black Hole" of Calcutta, and its consequences, 165; Lord Clive, 165, 166; Warren Hastings, 166; opium for export trade, 182; Burmah annexed, 199; North's Regulating Act and Pitt's Government of India Act, 242; London E. I. Co.'s monopoly ended, 243; Macaulay's ideas on education, 243; Lord Bentinck's reforms, 243, 244; the Brahmo Samaj, 244, 245; Afghanistan War, 245; taking of Sind, 245; conquest of the Sikhs, 245; annexation of Oudh, 245; the Mutiny, 245, 246, 247; first Viceroy, 247; visit of Prince of Wales, 247; Victoria proclaimed Empress, 247 and *n.*; famine years, 247, 248; Indian National Congress formed, 248; Reform Acts, 248; Lord Curzon and the partition of Bengal, 249; call for "Swaraj," 250; Indian Councils Act, 251; reunion of Bengal, 252; new universities, 252; Gandhi in South Africa, 252, 253; attack on Viceroy, 253; All-India Moslem League, 253, 254; Indian loyalty during Great War, 254, 255; at the Peace Conference, 296; present political situation, 330, 331, 332, 382 and *n.*, 383 and *n.*; present status of opium problem, 387, 388, 389; public education, 390, 391; work of medical missions, 393; evangelistic work, 396, 397.
India, Farther, 169–172.
Indian tribes of America, Asiatic origin of, 16, 142.
Indo-Bactrian rule in India, 43, 52.
Indo-China, 20; French, 170, 327, 328, 382.
Indo-Parthians, 43, 52.
Indo-Scythians, 42.
Iranian civilization, 29, 30. *See* Persia.
Iraq, new kingdom organized, 287; British mandate for, 337, 338.
Ironclad ships, early use of, 96.
Islam, spread of faith of, 67, 68; division in, 69; Golden Age of, 73; All-India Moslem League, 253, 254: story of Kaiser's conversion and call for a Holy War, 278. *See* India and Turks.
Israelites, the, 26, 27.
Itinerario of John van Linschoten, 128.
Ivan, Prince of Georgia, 86.

Jalallu'din, 82.
Japan, prehistoric people of, 32, 34; Jimmu Tennō, 56; birth of the Empire, 56; introduction of Buddhism, 57, 58; advances in art, literature, and legislation, 58; influence of China, 58; relations with Turks, 59; withdrawal of Buddhist student-emperors from practical affairs, 77; rise of the Shoguns

to sovereign power, 77, 78, 79; struggles of the clans for supremacy, 77; the Wars of the Roses, 78; rise of the Regents, 79, 80; saved from Tatars, 83, 84; described by Marco Polo, 86, 87; influenced by Buddhist sects, 89, 90; writings of Kenko, 90; the Ashikaga Shoguns, 94, 95; their deposition, 95; Hideyoshi, 95, 96, 97; wars with China and Korea, 96, 97; cuckoo poems, 97: coming of Portuguese, 112, 113; Saint Francis Xavier, 113, 114; conflict of missionary methods, 115, 116; Japanese claims in the Philippines, 123; Spanish friars go to Kyoto, 123; tragical end of their mission, 123, 124; effect on Japan's foreign policy, 124; Iyeyasu admits Dutch under Will Adams, 128, 129, 134, 136; Iyemitsu imposes severe restrictions on Dutch, 129, 130; reasons for Japan's exclusion policy, 134, 135, 136; the Tokugawa Shoguns, 159–162; all foreign trade restrained, 159, 160; literary achievements, 161; improvement of agriculture and fisheries, 161; advances in medicine, 162; relations with Korea, 199, 200, 201; Liao-tung peninsula gained, then ceded back to China, 201; Japanese advocates of opening the nation to Western ideas, 222, 223; Commodore Perry (1853) at Uraga Bay, 224; treaty with U. S., 225, 226; treaties with England, Holland, and Russia 226; first American consul, 226, 227; opening districts to foreign trade and residence, 227; protest of conservatives, 227; progressive ideas of other Japanese, 227, 228; conflicts with incoming foreigners, 228, 229; Shogunate discredited, 229; accession of Emperor Mutsuhito, 230; end of the Shogunate, 230; the Charter Oath and early attempts at reorganization, 231; Yedo (Tokyo) new capital, 231; voluntary ending of the old feudal system, 232; railways, telegraphs, postal system, newspapers, emancipation of the eta, foreign journeys by Japanese statesmen, 232; the Satsuma rebellion, 233; formation of political parties, 233, 234; Ito Hirobume, 234; new Constitution, 234, 235; insurrection in Korea, 235, 236; war with China, 236, 237; treaty of alliance with Great Britain, 237, 238; dissatisfaction with terms of Treaty of Portsmouth after Russo-Japanese War, 238, 239; Japan recognized as a World Power, 239; annexation of Korea, 239, 240; widening rift between Japan and U. S., 240, 241; exclusion Acts by California and by U. S., 256, 257, 258; death of Emperor Meiji Tennō and suicide of General Nogi, 258, 259; taking of Tsingtao, 259; the Twenty-one Demands on China, 260, 261; naval operations in World War, 289, 290; Peace Conference gives Pacific islands to, 297; struggle with China at Peace Conference, 299, 300; improvements made in Korea, 306, 307; Korean revolt suppressed, 307, 308; the Shantung problem, 311, 312; Japan at the Washington Conference, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318; Soviet diplomacy in, 322; legislation in U. S. against immigrants, 348, 349, 350, 351; present trade conditions in China, 351; resentment against U. S. immigration Acts, 354, 355; present relations with Russia, 362, 363; with China, 363, 364, 365; evils incidental to expanding industry, 371, 372, 373; the land problem, 373, 374; labor problems and Socialism, 374, 375; welfare work, 375, 376; the earthquake and fire, 376, 377; popular feeling against U. S., 378; extension of the elective franchise, 378; shipping statistics, 385; Western influences on education, 392, 393; in medicine, 394, 395; evangelistic work, 397, 398; the outlook, 403.

Java, 324, 325, 326.

Jehangir, 137, 163.

Jehovah as a national God, 26 and *n.*

Jenghiz Khan, 11, 80, 81, 82, 280.

Jerusalem, 27; General Allenby at, 276.

Jesuits, service of, to Eastern civilization, 114, 115, 116, 393, 394, 396.

Jewish people and kingdoms, 26, 27, 36, 37; Zionist movement, 286, 338, 339.

John Damascene, Saint, 70 *n.*

Judaism after the Captivity, 37.

Julian the Apostate, 64 and *n.*

KAABA, the, 66 and *notes*, 67.

Kanishka, 43.

Kelima, slogan of the, 65, 66, 68.

Keshub Chunder Sen, 244 and *n.*, 245.

Khadijah, 67.

Khalifs, the, 68 and *n.*, 69, 70, 72, 73, 74, 75, 280, 302 and *notes*.

Khiva, Kings of, 75.
Khyber Pass, the, 167.
Kipling, Rudyard (quoted), 5, 65.
Kohinoor, the, 101, 102.
Koran. *See* Quran.
Korea, 34, 83, 96; Christian missions in, 199, 200; disagreements of China and Japan over, 200, 201; independence, 201; Treaty of Shimonoseki, 201; coveted by Russia, 214; insurrection, 235, 236; Japanese protectorate, 239; popular revolts, 239; annexation by Japan, 239, 240; practical advantages of Japanese control, 306, 307; protest of unreconciled Koreans, 307, 308; severe measures of Japan, 308; missionaries' attitude toward Japanese in Korea, 307, 308.
Kotowing, 148 and *n.*
Kowloon, 194.
Kublai Khan, 83, 84, 87.
Kurdish massacre of Assyrian Christians, 277 and *n.*
Kyoto as capital of Japan, 77.

Ladrones, the, 119, 122 and *n.*, 178.
Lama, the Grand (or Dalai), 158 and *n.*, 215, 330.
Lamaism, in Tibet, 157, 158.
Legaspi, Viceroy of the Philippines, 121, 122.
Lhasa, 249.
Liao Tatars, 76.
Liao-tung peninsula, ceded by China to Japan, 201; retroceded to China, 201; leased to Russia, 201.
Linschoten, John van, influence of his *Itinerario* on Far East voyages, 128 and *n.*
Lithuania, possible home of the Aryans, 28.
London East India Co., 132; attempts to find the Northwest Passage, 133; rules and regulations for voyages, 133; formation of a joint-stock company, 133; extension of India trade, 139; Job Charnock, 139; increasing trade, 140; American interest in Eastern trade, 181; shipment of ginseng to China, 181 and *n.*; the opium trade, 182, 183; factories become nucleus of a dominion, 242; trading monopoly ended in India, 243.
Louis, Saint, 82.
Lusiads, the, of Camoens, 109 and *n.*, 110.
Lusitania, 106 and *n.*
Lydia, 31.

Macao, Portuguese settlement at, 112, 117, 323.
Macaulay, Thomas Babington, 243, 390 and *n.*
Madinah, Al-, 67.
Magellan, Ferdinand, 118, 119.
Mahmud, the Image-breaker, 74.
Malacca taken by Portuguese, 112; by Dutch, 112; transferred to Great Britain, 112.
Malay islands and States, early peoples of, 21, 175; trade in spices with Portugal, Holland, and England, 175; the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States, 175, 332, 333, 334.
Mallock, Douglas (quoted), 14.
Manchus, the, 93; in China, 153, 154, 155, 156, 204, 205; end of the Imperial dynasty, 262, 263, 264, 265.
Mandeville, Sir John, 85, 86.
Mani, dualism of, 64.
Manichæanism, 10, 60, 64.
Mansur, 73.
Maoris, the, 176, 177, 336.
Marathon, the Persians at, 36.
Marquesas Islands, 174, 328.
Medes, the, 25.
Medical missions in China, 393, 394; in India, 393; in Japan, 394, 395.
Medina. *See* Madinah, Al-.
Mehemet Ali, 169 and *n.*
Melanesia (Black Islands), and their people, 178; New Guinea and its explorers, 178.
Mencius, 47.
Messianic hopes, political side of, 41.
Micronesia (the Little Islands), and its people, 178.
Milinda, 43 and *n.*
Missionary work in the Orient, 390–399. *See also* Jesuits.
Mithraism, 10, 65.
Moghul Emperors of India, 101 and *n.*, 102, 103, 104; end of their rule, 242, 243.
Mohammed. *See* Muhammad.
Mongols in thirteenth century, 8, 9; in prehistoric India, 20; link with Sumerians, 21; cattle-raiders, 80 and *n.*, 81; Jenghiz Khan, 80, 81, 82, 145; defeat by Japanese, 83, 84; Ogdai in Russia, 145; end of Mongol domination, 146; Eleuth (Oliut) Mongols crushed by China, 149, 150; revolt, with help from Russia, 265, 292, 293; further conflict with China, 303, 304, 305, 306.
Morris, Robert, and American trade with China, 181.

Moses, 26.
Mosul, 337, 338.
Muhammad, 65, 66, 67, 68.
Muhammadanism. *See* Islam.
Muharram, Islamic month of, 69.

Napier, Sir Charles, 245.
"Napoleon of the Pacific," 180 and *n.*
Nebuchadnezzar, 25, 27.
Nehemiah, 37.
Neo-Confucianism, 161 *n.*
Nerchinsk, Treaty of, 148, 149.
New Caledonia, 178, 328.
New Guinea, 297.
New Hebrides, 178, 328.
New Zealand, and the Maoris, 176, 177; Dutch the first European visitors, 177; knowledge spread by Captain Cook, 177; George Marsden's missionary work, 177; annexation to Great Britain, 177, 178; Pacific islands given to, 297; present condition and outlook, 335, 336.
Nineveh, 25.
Ningpo, 191.
Nogi, General, 258. *See* Russo-Japanese War.
Novgorod and the Siberian trade, 144.
Noyes, Alfred (quoted), 119.

Oil, illuminating, 88.
"Old Man of the Mountain," 75.
Omar Khayyám. *See* Umar.
Ommayad Khalifs. *See* Ummayad.
Opium trade in Far East, 182, 183, 268, 341 *n.*, 369, 387 and *n.*, 388, 389.
Ormuzd, 31.
Oudh, annexation of, 245.

Pacific, island groups in the, 173–181.
Pacific Ocean as centre of a new field of developing civilization, 11, 12; Balboa, 118, 173; Magellan, 119, 173; rival nations exploring the seas, 174; Captain James Cook, 174; the Pacific question to-day, 404–409.
Palestine, passageway between Asia and Europe, 9, 10; Maccabæan revolt against Hellenization, 41; suffering under Turks, 285, 286; British army in, 286; Zionist movement, 286, 338, 339.
Panjab, the, Babar's conquest of, 101; British war in, 245.
Paper, invention of, 49.
Parthian (Arsacid) dynasty in Persia, 63, 64.
Passion Play, the Islamite, 69 and *n.*
Peace Conference at Versailles, Asiatic representatives and problems at, 296–300.
Peking, architectural treasures of, 92; foreign legations at, 194, 195; during Boxer uprising, 203; difficulty in making it a strong centre of government, 267. *See* China.
Pelew Islands, 122, 178.
Persia, birthplace of Zoroastrianism and later religions, 10, 31; the name, 29, 30; influenced by East and West, 35; and the Greeks, 36; service to the world through Jews, 36, 37; and Alexander the Great, 40; Arsacid or Parthian dynasty, 63, 64; Artaxerxes and the Sassanid dynasty, 64, 65; wars with Rome, 64; decline, 65; the renaissance, 73, 74, 75; visited by Marco Polo, 87; Timurid rule in fifteenth century, 100; Sufi dynasty, 100 and *n.*, 101; literary developments, 101; embassies from European countries, 101; Abbas the Great, 166; Nadir Shah, 166, 167, 168; Persia's relations with Turkey, 168; revolution of 1909, 274, 275, 276; Morgan Shuster, 275 and *n.*; German, Russian, and British movements in Persia, 276, 277, 278; present conditions, 365.
Pescadores, the, occupied by Dutch, 131; relinquished for Formosa, 131.
Pharaoh Necho and the circumnavigation of Africa, 108.
Philippine Islands, discovered by Magellan, 119; work of Spanish monks, 120, 121; Chinese in the islands, 120; Chinese pirate attacks on, 122, 123; Japanese claims on, 123; massacre of Chinese residents, 124, 125; Manila seized by British, 125; Spain resumes control, 125, 126; purchase by U. S., 344; American control, 345, 346; present conditions, 346, 383, 384.
Philistines, the, 24.
Plassey, battle of, 165.
Platæa, the Persians at, 36.
Polo, Marco, 83, 86, 87, 88, 89, 106, 175.
Polynesia (Many Islands), 179.
Pondicherry, English victory at, 165.
Pope Alexander VI, bull of, 111.
Pope Julius II, 118.
Porcelain, imports of, in the West, 89.
Port Arthur, 201, 213, 216, 217.

Portugal's call to adventure, 106, 107; Henry the Navigator, 107, 108; Bartolomeo Diaz, 108; Vasco da Gama and circumnavigation of Africa, 108, 109; Camoens, 109, 110; foothold in India, 110, 111; rivalry with Spain settled by papal bull, 111; advance to the Malay peninsula, 112; to China, 112; to Japan, 112, 113; spectacular success followed by disaster, 116, 117; effect of union with Spain on work in the East, 116, 117; Magellan transfers allegiance to Spain, 118, 119; Portuguese traders abandon Ceylon and Malacca, 131; small influence at present in the Orient, 322, 323.
Pottery, Japanese, influenced by Korea, 97.
Prehistoric civilization, 17.
Prester John, 85, 86.
Pumpelly, Raphael, and ancient civilization in Asia, 17.
Punjab. *See* Panjab.

Queue, the Chinese, 153 and *n.*
Quran, the, 67 and *n.*, 68, 69, 164.

Raffles, Sir Thomas Stamford, in the Far East, 333.
Rajput heroism, 163.
Ramadhan, fast of, 68.
Ramayana, the, 20 *n.*
Ram Mohun Roy, 244 and *n.*, 245.
Roads and trade routes, 51.
Roberts, Edmund, 185, 186.
Roman Empire, trade with China, 51, 52; with India, 52; wars with Persia, 64; Mithraism brought back from Persia, 65.
Roosevelt, President, 216, 218.
Rubaiyat, the, 75.
Rubruk, William de, 85, 145.
"Rum," name for the West, 35 *n.*
Russia, its eastern, Asiatic territory, 142, 143; tribal movements in early times, 143, 144; essentially Asiatic character, 144; early European knowledge of Siberia, 144; Mongols invade European Russia, 144, 145; permanence of Tatar influence, 145, 146; Asiatic claims of Ivan the Terrible, 146; attempted embassy to China, 146; Cossack raiders in Siberia, 146, 147; repeated attempts at embassy to China, 147; further advance through Siberia, 147, 148; conflict with Manchus, 148; first European treaty with China, 148, 149; Empress Catherine makes a new treaty, 150; flight of a Tatar tribe to China, 151, 152; Krusenstern's voyage, 174; leases Liao-tung peninsula and builds Chinese Eastern Railway, 201; colonists and exiles in Siberia, 206, 207; advances in Central Asia, 208; Muravieff and the Russian advance to the Pacific, 208, 209; Treaty of Peking, 209; further advances in Central Asia, 209, 210, 211, 212; on the Afghan frontier, 212; diplomatic arrangement with England, 212, 213; Trans-Siberian Railway, 213; immense gains of Russia in the Far East, 213, 214, 215; Russo-Japanese War, 215 and *n.*, 216–219; Russia in Mongolia and China, 220, 263, 265; movements in Persia, 274–278; the Far East as a doorway, 291; European population in Asiatic Russia, 291, 292; conventions and secret treaties with Japan, 292; interference in Mongolia, 292, 293; Revolution of 1917, 293, 294; establishment of Soviet power, 294; eastward movement of freed Czechoslovaks, 294; Koltchak and Semenoff in Siberia, 295; Soviet activities in Asia, 301, 302, 303; diplomatic advances to China, 305, 306, 321, 322; to Japan, 322; present relations with Japan, 362, 363.
Russo-Japanese War, 215–220.

Sabæanism in Arabia, 66 and *n.*
Sakhalin, part of, ceded by Russia to Japan, 219.
Sakuntala. See *Çakuntala.*
Salamis, the Persians at, 36.
Samarkand, 99; as a Soviet centre, 301.
Samoa, 179.
Samudraguptra, 62.
Sandwich Islands, 179.
Sardis, 31.
Sargon as raider in Euphrates Valley, 23.
Saris, Sir John, and Japan's exclusion policy, 134, 135, 136.
Sassanid dynasty in Persia, 64, 65, 71.
Sati, 243 and *n.*
Scythians, 25, 143.
Seleucus Nicator and his dynasty, 40, 41, 42.
Semitic tribes, probable origin of, 22; early power of, 23. *See also* Arabia and Jews.
Seward, William H. (quoted), on the future of the Pacific, 340 and *n.*; his foresight, 405.

Shah Jehan, 137, 163.
Shakespeare (quoted), 89; in Siam, 365.
Shanghai, 12; formally opened to British trade, 191.
Shantung territory taken by Japan, 259; discussions over, 299, 311, 312; settlement of dispute over, 316, 317, 318.
Shaw, Samuel, American consul in China, 182.
Shiites and Sunnites, 69, 101.
Shogun, office and function of, 77. *See* Japan.
Shuster, Morgan, in Persia, 275 and *n.*
Siam, early history of, 170; relations with France, 171; and the Malay States, 175; at the Peace Conference, 296; relations with France, 327, 328; King Rama VI, 365.
Siberia, known to Europe in eleventh century, 144; conquered by Cossacks, 146, 147; Russian exiles, 206, 207; advance of Russia to the Pacific, 208, 209, 213, 214, 292; Czechoslovaks after the World War, 294; Allies attempt to aid them, 294, 295; Koltchak and Semenoff in conflict, 295; Japanese hold Northern Sakhalin, 296; Soviet enterprises, 303.
Siddhartha, Prince. *See* Buddhism.
Sikh religion, 110 and *n.*; conquest of Sikhs, 245.
Silk culture, early, 19 *n.*
Singapore, 333.
Skobeleff, General, 211, 212.
Socialism, early scheme of, in China, 75, 76; in modern Japan, 374.
Society Islands, 328.
Solomon Islands, 174 178.
"Song of the Cakes," 154, 205.
Soviets. *See* Russia.
Spain, territories allotted to, by bull of Pope Alexander VI, 111; effect of union with Portugal on their Eastern enterprises, 116, 117; Magellan enters service of Spain, 118; rounds Patagonia, names Pacific, and reaches the Philippines, 119; Spanish vessel circumnavigates the world, 119; missionary monks in the Philippines, 120, 121; conquests enlarged by Legaspi, 121, 122; Manila made capital of Philippines, 121; Spanish monks go to Japan, 123; tragic end of their mission, 123, 124; conflicts with the Dutch, 124; conflicts with Filipino natives, 126.
Spice Islands, British traders driven from, 131.
Stevenson, R. L., 179.
Straits Settlements, 333, 334.
Stupas, Buddhist, 43 and *n.*
Sumatra, prehistoric people of, 20; modern people, 324 and *n.*, 325.
Sumerian peoples of Euphrates basin, 20, 21, 22.
Sunnites and Shiites, 69.
Sutras, the, 77.
Suttee, 243 and *n.*
Syria, during World War, 285; mandate of France, 285 and *n.*

Tagore, Debendranath, 245 and *n.*
Tahiti, 179, 328.
Tai-ping Rebellion, 192, 193, 194.
Tamerlane. *See* Timur.
Tamils, Mongol origin of, 20.
Taoism, 48 and *notes*, 49.
Tasman, Abel, 174, 175, 176.
Tasmania (Van Diemen's Land), discovered by Dutch, 175, 176.
Tatars in China, 76 and 80 *n.*; in Russia, 145, 151, 152. *See also* Jenghiz Khan and Mongols.
Tell-el-Amarna letters, the, 24, 26.
Telugus, Mongol origin of, 20.
Ten Thousand, the, 37, 206, 401.
Tennyson, Alfred (quoted), 103.
Thibet. *See* Tibet.
Thomas, Saint, in India, 43, 53, 396.
Tibet, 157, 158, 215; General Younghusband at Lhasa, 249; British and Chinese influence in, 330.
Tientsin, 194.
Timor, island of, 117 and *n.*
Timur, 11, 99, 100, 105, 280; his successors in Persia, 100.
Tonga or Friendly Islands, 179.
Topes, Buddhist, 43 and *n.*
Tordesillas, Treaty of, 118.
Trans-Siberian Railway, 213.
Transylvania, possible home of the Aryans, 28.
Trojan War, 24.
Turguts, return of, from Russia, 151, 152.
Turks, 7, 97, 98, 99; shut off Europe from Asia, 105; Queen Elizabeth's treaty with, 106; movements in Asia, 168, 169; interference with Persia, 277, 278; persecution and massacre of Armenians, 280, 281; protests by European Powers, 281; emigration of Armenians, 281; new outrages by "Young Turks," 282, 283; changing aims of the Young Turks, 283, 284; loss of Arabia, 284, 285; conflict with

Turks (*Continued*)
Greeks in Smyrna, 302; government centre at Erzeroum, later at Angora, 302 and *notes;* the question of Mosul, 337, 338.
Types, movable, for printing, 89.

Umar ben Ibrahim al-Khayyami, 75.
Ummayad Khalifs, the, 69, 70.
United States, and the Far East trade, 181, 182; importance of northwest coast, 183, 340; American shipping at Canton, 184; the Oregon question in 1822, 184, 185; the Terranova case, emphasizes need of protection for American seamen, 185; need of protection in Japan, 185; John Quincy Adams on Japan's duty, 185; Edmund Roberts, sent as general agent to the Orient, 185, 186; early efforts to establish relations with Japan, 186; Burlingame and the (1868) treaty with China, 195, 196; first Chinese immigrants, 196; growth of the immigration problem, 196, 197; settlement with China after Boxer revolt, 204; Roosevelt and the Treaty of Portsmouth, 218, 219; Commodore Perry (1853) and first treaty with Japan, 224, 225, 226; Harriman and Japan's railway problems, 238; less friendly relations with Japan, 240, 241; Asiatic Exclusion League and Alien Landowners Bill, 256, 257, 258; the Washington Conference, 313–319; trade with Java, 325; Seward's foresight regarding the Pacific, 340; purchase of the Philippines, 341, 344; permanent importance of early relations with the Orient, 341, 342; opium trade, 341 *n.*; Japanese estimate of U. S. in 1861, 342 and *n.*; problems of Chinese immigration not permanently settled, 342; American capital in China, 343; trade competition in the Orient, 343, 344; the Philippine question to-day, 344, 345, 346; Guam, 346, 347; Yap, 347; general problem of immigration, 347, 348; special legislation against Japanese, 348, 349, 350, 351; need of a world-consciousness, 351, 352; Asiatic reactions to attitude of U. S., 353, 354, 355; the Philippine situation, 383, 384; U. S. and the opium problem, 387 and *n.*, 388, 389; new duties and opportunities around the Pacific, 405–409.

Valerian, Emperor, 64.
Varuna, in Indian, Persian, and Greek religions, 31.
Vedas, the, 28 and *n.*, 29, 37.
Veiled Prophet of Kharasan, 73.
Venetian jealousy of Constantinople, 99; embassy to Persia, 100; loss of trade routes to East, 105, 106.
Versailles. *See* Peace Conference.
Vladivostok, 209.
Voltaire, Ch'ien Lung's correspondence with, 156.

Ward, Frederick, General, 193.
Washington Conference, 313–319.
Webster, Daniel, 192 *n.*
Wei-hai-wei, 202, 318 and *n.*
Wells, H. G. (quoted), 3.
Wilson, President, 266 and *n.*, 273, 282, 291, 297, 299, 300, 301, 306, 341, 343.
World War and Asia, 288–319.

Xanadu, 83, 87 and *n.*
Xavier, Saint Francis, in India and Japan, 113, 114.
Xenophon and the Ten Thousand, 37, 206, 401.
Xerxes and the Greeks, 36.

Yahweh, as a national God, 26 and *n.*
Yap, island of, 297, 318, 347.
Yermak, conquering raider of Siberia, 147.

Zechariah, 37.
Zionist movement, 286, 338, 339.
Zoroaster, 10, 11, 30 and *n.*, 60, 65.

ASIA
ENGLISH STATUTE MILES
KILOMETERS
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ARCTIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
EUROPE
ASIA
SIBERIA
MONGOLIA
SINKIANG
PERSIA
ARABIA
INDIA
JAPAN
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
NEW GUINEA
BERING SEA
SEA OF JAPAN
SEA OF OKHOTSK
YELLOW SEA
EAST CHINA SEA
SOUTH CHINA SEA
CELEBES SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
ARABIAN SEA
RED SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
ARAL SEA
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
TROPIC OF CANCER
EQUATOR
ARCTIC CIRCLE
PENINSULA
MALAYA
INDO-CHINA
TOKYO
Yokohama
Osaka
PEKING
Tientsin
CALCUTTA
HANOI
Singapore
Bombay
Madras
Delhi
Tehran
Baghdad
Mecca
Medina
Ispahan
Meshed
Omsk
Irkutsk
Yakutsk
Tashkent
Samarkand
Bukhara
Archangel
Leningrad
Murmansk
Stockholm
Constantinople
Nagasaki
Shanghai
Manila
Taiwan
Luzon
Sakhalin
Kamchatka
Vladivostok
Khabarovsk
Blagoveshchensk
Novosibirsk
Yenisei R.
Lena R.
Ob R.
Volga R.
Ural Mts.
Caucasus Mts.
Himalaya Mts.
Gobi Desert
Sahara Desert
Nafud Desert
Rub al Khali
Dasht-i-Kavir
Dasht-i-Lut
Thar Desert
Deccan
Malay Peninsula
Sumatra
Java
Borneo
Celebes
Philippine Islands
Marianas Is.
Caroline Is.
Pelew Is.
Maldive Is.
Laccadive Is.
Andaman Is.
Nicobar Is.
Sakhalin (Jap.)
Kuril Is. (Jap.)
Formosa (Jap.)
Hainan (Jap.)
Hokkaido
Honshu
Kyushu
Shikoku
Ryukyu Is.
Bonin Is. (Jap.)
Volcano Is. (Jap.)
Franz Joseph Land
Novaya Zemlya
New Siberia Is.
Spitzbergen
Iceland
Greenland
Alaska
Aleutian Is.
Kuriles
Kiska
Attu
Wake I.
Midway Is.
Hawaiian Is.
Guam
Yap
Palau Is.
Timor
Sulu Archipelago
Tantalam I.
Gilolo
Banka
Billiton
Riau Archipelago
Andaman Sea
Gulf of Tonkin
Gulf of Siam
Gulf of Martaban
Gulf of Oman
Persian Gulf
Gulf of Aden
Gulf of Suez
Gulf of Aqaba
Gulf of Bothnia
Gulf of Finland
Gulf of Riga
Gulf of Kara
Gulf of Ob
Gulf of Anadyr
Gulf of Alaska
Bering Strait
Davis Strait
Hudson Bay
Baffin Bay
Labrador Sea
Greenland Sea
Barents Sea
White Sea
Kara Sea
Laptev Sea
East Siberian Sea
Chukchi Sea
Beaufort Sea
Lake Baikal
Lake Aral
Lake Balkhash
Lake Issyk-Kul
Lake Urmia
Lake Van
Lake Tiberias
Dead Sea
Lake Tsinghai
Lake Tali
Lake Hsingkai
Lake Tungting
Lake Poyang
Lake Taihu
Lake Hongze
Lake Chaohu
Lake Nanyang
Lake Dongting
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Lake Kerinchi
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Lake Taal
Lake Buhi
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Lake Naujan
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Lake Sentani
Lake Rudolf
Lake Victoria
Lake Tanganyika
Lake Nyasa
Lake Chad
Lake Eyre
Lake Torrens
Lake Gairdner
Lake Amadeus
Lake Mackay
Lake Frome
Lake Blanche
Lake Callabonna
Lake Gregory
Lake Disappointment
Lake Macdonnell
Lake Hope
Lake Alexandrina
Lake Albert
Lake Eyre North
Lake Eyre South
Lake Torrens
Lake Gairdner
Lake Amadeus
Lake Mackay
Lake Frome
Lake Blanche
Lake Callabonna
Lake Gregory
Lake Disappointment
Lake Macdonnell
Lake Hope
Lake Alexandrina
Lake Albert

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